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Cathedrals.

By the same Author.

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TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS

OF

Cathedrals.

BY

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SOC. DES ANTIQ. DE NORMANDIE, SOC. ROY. DES ANT. DU NORD, ETC.



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persons, and places, and with names.'—LORD BACON.

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PREFACE.

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ORIGINALLY these pages were not intended to constitute an independent volume. The reasons for their issue in this form would be without interest to the reader. However, it is necessary to explain the object of the work, which is designed (however imperfectly the purpose may have been carried out) to be popular, reliable, and instructive. It resolves itself into two main divisions.

I. Historical, containing a sketch of the Cathedrals of the Old and New Foundation, with notices of the 'moving history' of ravage or injury, which make a further demand on our interest and sympathy beyond their sacred character, their national associations, their antiquity, their manifold contents, or their value as monuments of Art.

II. Partly Archæological, with details of their ancient customs, not without profit as examples for imitation or warnings of failure, interspersed

with legend and tradition ; and partly modern and practical, as indicating the various uses which have grown up, alongside with material restoration, in the celebration of Divine Service, when evidences of new life and unbroken vitality are rife on every side. Changes in the structure and furniture and services have been supplemented by the dying out of traditional lore; and designs are on foot to remodel their constitution : so that, on either ground, I hope to interest both the curious antiquary in matters of ritual, and the conscientious reformer in points of detail.

The three beautiful ‘Sisters of the Vale’—the spires of Lichfield—so beautiful that old Fuller suggests that they should only be shown on great festivals; the glorious towers of Lincoln, on its sovereign hill, the delight of Southey and Wordsworth; the majestic pile of York, perhaps the most admired in modern times, although Lord Burlington could not award his preference; the massive grandeur of Durham, immortalised by Scott and Johnson; the grace of Salisbury; the unequalled front of Wells; the triple porches or gallery of Peterborough; the soaring angel steeple of Canterbury, and its more than rival at Gloucester, if lost would be irreparable. They were

the production of men who thought that to work was to pray, and laboured as those who in their daily procession spent every day as if their last, pourtraying the pilgrimage of earth. Erasmus tells us of the joy of the travellers as they heard the great bells of Canterbury booming over the country side, and saw the two towers rising as if to salute those who approached; and the church with such majesty lifting itself into the sky, that even afar off it inspired religious awe, and when near blinded the eyes with its splendour.¹ Gostling mentions that he had seen the eyes of negroes glisten as they caught their first sight of the interior, and Southey says he heard more than one American say it was worth while to cross the Atlantic in order to see a single Cathedral.

They are the history of England written in stone; the erection, not of ecclesiastics only, but of every class of the community; storehouses and treasuries of the arts, whether in glass, architecture, painting, sculpture, or carved work: there is scarcely a name of an ecclesiastic eminent in piety or literature which is not contained in their list of members; the graves of the highest and noblest are made, or their memorials erected

¹ Peregrin. Relig. ergo; Op. 1. 360.

under the shadow of their vaults; music, learning, and science have flourished within their walls; vast sums have been spent by persons in modern pilgrimages coming to visit their beauty; and a noble spirit of restoration has revived what was decayed in their structure and faulty in arrangement. They are a part of the Constitution, and, as Coleridge says, a petrification of religion. They elevate the position of the town which they grace; they raise the ordinary thoughts of men who labour and toil in the busy world around them, and make foreigners own, in despite of our miserable present style, that we once had a national architecture, which (as Æneas Sylvius, centuries ago, said at York, when he admired 'its gleaming walls of glass and graceful shafts,') produced fabrics 'whose fame was commensurate with the civilised world.'

These notes have been collected in the course of special reading extended over nearly a quarter of a century, and during frequent visits to our Cathedrals. To those who have given me information, my best acknowledgments are due, and I shall be very grateful for any further suggestions or aid.

TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS OF CATHEDRALS.



WANT OF CONTEMPORARY NOTICES OF USES AND CUSTOMS.

It is an unfortunate fact that few ecclesiastics possessed of opportunities of daily observation have been animated with the spirit of the early ritualists, and played the important part of contemporary historians, with the exception of an illustrious band of Frenchmen, such as De Moleon, Claude le Vert, Le Brun, Mabillon, and Martene. In England the Church at the Reformation established an uniform rite, and, in consequence, the ancient uses became obsolete, except so far as old tradition and custom were necessary to supplement the deficiencies and slender directions of the new rubric. In time, owing to frequent revisions and political and religious changes, even this oral, or rather practical, reminiscence of previous usages gradually dimmed and partially passed away. The material fabrics suffered a great change, which contributed to efface ancient memories.

We have thus lost in our churches many an invaluable work of art, and our libraries show empty

2 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

shelves, once rich in books, which would have thrown a clear light on archæological points now hopelessly involved in obscurity. No wonder foreign nations marvelled at our barbarous proceedings; the pity is that we, three centuries after, suffer by this hot and rash fury of destructiveness. It must plead my excuse for any shortcomings in the present volume; which is designed to embody all the strays and waifs of incidental information now available with regard to the Customs of our Cathedrals, mainly since the Reformation, and in degree previous to that great convulsion in the Church of this country.

I have given, in my '*Cathedrals and Sacred Archaeology*,' the gradual development of the Cathedral system in England, its monastic foundations, the abortive attempts at Exeter and Wells to introduce Regular Canons on the model of Lorraine, Hugh Nonant's short-lived policy of the same kind at Coventry in 1190,¹ and that of Thomas of Bayeux at York, and the historic notices of the first division of the Common Fund into distinct prebends at Wells and Lincoln. For this reason I shall not repeat these details here, but content myself with offering a sketch of the Constitution of Chichester as an instance of secular organisation.

Charles I. 'divided Cathedral churches into three ranks,' as Fuller informs us, 'as he did his royal ships of the line, accounting St. Paul's at London, and the Cathedrals of York, Lincoln, and Winchester, of the first; Chichester, Lichfield, &c., of the second; and the Welsh Cathedrals, of the third.'

¹ Ang. Sac. i. 436.

Cathedrals of the Old and New Foundations. 3

The division I wish to point out is that, not of architectural merit, but internal constitution.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION—CATHEDRALS OF THE OLD AND NEW FOUNDATIONS—CONSTITUTION OF A CATHEDRAL OF THE FORMER CLASS—CHICHESTER—DUTIES OF MEMBERS—ANCIENT CUSTOMS AND OATHS.

‘THERE are in Wales now,’ according to the ‘Annals of Waverley,’ under the date 1085, ‘four bishoprics, in England seventeen, and in *seven* of these there are monks in the Cathedrals. This in other provinces ycu will seldom or never find; but the reason in England for it is that the first preachers to the English, S. Augustine, Mellitus Justus, and Laurence, were monks. In the other *nine* Cathedrals there are Secular Canons.’¹ This is one of the earliest notices of the distinction between the Cathedrals of Secular Canons and those of Monks, or, as at Carlisle, Regular Canons, before the Reformation, which, since the reconstitution of the latter class, as converted by Henry VIII., have been known as Cathedrals of the Old and New Foundations. The former are those of St. Paul’s, Salisbury, Chichester, Exeter, Wells, Hereford, Lincoln, Lichfield, and York; the latter include Canterbury, Durham, Winchester, Rochester, Ely, Norwich, and Worcester (Bath, Coventry, and Carlisle being omitted by the annalist); and the sees created after the dissolution of the Religious Houses, to which I shall presently allude.

Hugh Nonant, Giraldus says, stated before the Pro-

¹ Comp. Ann. Roffens. A.S. i. 342; Stubbs, Counc. iii. 576.

4 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

vincial Council of London, as a 'well-known and evident fact, that throughout the world the Cathedrals were occupied by [secular] clergy, except in England only, which was converted by the monk St. Augustine, bishop of the English, and in consequence he placed monks in them.'¹ These were erroneous views, for although monks were soon introduced at Canterbury,² yet they were not established until the time of Laurence. When Walkelin of Winchester well-nigh persuaded the bishops that Cathedral canons in cope and surplice were better than monks, the archbishop was compelled to urge Pope Alexander III. not to sanction the change.³ Gundulph, A.D. 1083, followed his policy at Rochester,⁴ William of St. Calais at Durham;⁵ Ethelwold at Winchester, A.D. 964;⁶ Oswald, 'circumventing the canons with holy art' at Worcester, A.D. 969,⁷ and Herbert Losinga at Norwich.⁸ Peter removed from Lichfield to St. Peter's, Chester, which he filled with canons, but his successor, Robert I. [de Limesey], made Coventry, then a monastery, his see,⁹ and so in 1088 John de Villula chose Bath instead of Wells,¹⁰ and in consequence the monks of these united sees had an equal voice with the canons. At Ely, Bishop Ethelwold ejected the clergy, and established monks, A.D. 970.¹¹ In these Cathedrals the bishop was abbot and the convent the Cathedral Chapter, the monks acting as

¹ Ang. Sac. ii. 352.

² A. S. Chron. s.a. 995; W. Malm. 32.

³ W. Malm. 72.

⁴ Ibid. 72.

⁵ Ibid. 272; Reg. Dunelm. c. xvi.; Hoveden, i. 129, b. 7; Simeon, Dun. 212.

⁶ Ibid. 167; Bromton, 364.

⁷ Wendover, i. 413; W. Malm. 248.

⁸ Ibid. 161.

⁹ Ibid. 310.

¹⁰ Ibid. 194.

¹¹ Ibid. 322-4.

Cathedral canons, with the same duties as were common to secular churches;¹ and to this day the Bishops of Ely, Durham, and Carlisle occupy that which is ordinarily the dean's stall on certain occasions, the two former having been a minster of Benedictines, and the latter of Regular Canons of St. Austin.

QUOTIDIAN—RESIDUE—RESIDENTIARIES—FULL AND
HALF-FULL RESIDENCE—FEES FOR ADMISSION—
DEAN—PRÆCENTOR—CHANCELLOR—TREASURER—
COMMUNAR—INSTALLATION—VICARS' COLLEGE.

OF the Constitution of Selsey Cathedral we know that it was monastic.² Stigand, who was promoted by William I., removed in 1082 the see to Chichester, where there had been St. Peter's Minster and a convent of nuns.³ His successor, Ralph, who may be considered the real founder of the Cathedral as regards the fabric, no doubt also arranged the establishment. In 1108 the Cathedral was consecrated: the Norman system, as adopted at Lincoln by Remigius, was followed at Chichester; for the first Statute of 1114⁴ is signed by the DEAN, PRÆCENTOR, CHANCELLOR, ARCHDEACON, Canons, and Chaplains; and in 1127 a Statute empowered three Canons, including the TREASURER, who received the whole commune, to distribute bread according to the Statute of Bishop Hilary, who had given the prebend of Sangleton, viz.; the church of East Dene and its chapelries, lands, and tithes, for

¹ Reiner, *Apost. Bened. tr. i. sect. i. § 17*, p. 77.

² W. Malm. 232.

³ *Ibid.* 68, 205.

⁴ MSS. Harl. 6973, and Univ. Coll. Oxfl. No. cxlviii.

6 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

the purpose; and from the residue of the commune to give 12*d.* to each canon present in his habit at Mass or Vespers on every Saturday weekly, with a deduction in proportion to his absences, and to every VICAR 3*d.* over and above the pence which their masters paid them—that is, a mark to a priest, half a mark to a deacon, and 11*d.* to a sub-deacon, each Vicar being bound to be in the same order as the PREBENDARY whom he represented. The residue was divided by advice of the Chapter after all expenses had been paid in the collection of the commune and the stipends of the distributors. The choral habit was to be uniform, a cope open without gorjuræ worn over a surplice or rochet. [This habit appears in two pictures of the time of Sherborne, in the Cathedral.] Those in the upper stalls were to be incensed twice, and a cross was to be carried before the Gospeller if he read in the roodloft.

In 1226 a library had been long formed, for an old custom was revived, to the effect that a residentiary might borrow a reasonable number of books, which he was to return on leaving the city, unless he received the Dean's license and paid down an adequate deposit for their retention.

The Treasurer had the charge of the treasure [the jewels, altar-plate, relics, vestments, and the like] and treasury by night and day, the ringing of the bells, the ornaments of the church, the altars, and the wax for the candles. The number of tapers which he had to furnish was prescribed: there were seven, each of two pounds in weight, upon the high altar, on the roodbeam eight of the same size, and two on

the altar steps; two in the small candlesticks carried before the priest when he censed the altar, and two used for the same purpose outside the choir, and two at Nocturns, and three on Trinity Sunday burning in the chandelier in the midst of the choir; two before the bishop's throne when he was present, and one outside the choir, near the steps leading to the vestry. There were three lights only on the altar on week days and the lesser holydays. Whenever a canon wished to celebrate or hear mass, the Treasurer furnished, through a SACRISTAN or CHURCHWARDEN, once in the day, all necessities; his other assistants were a CLERK to light the tapers and two SERVANTS or MINISTERS, at least, to ring the bells and sweep out the church at Easter and before the feast of dedication, and also hang the church at proper times with curtains, veils, and palls. At Lincoln, 1440, two residentiaries called Masters of the Fabric, annually elective, looked after the repairs and cleanliness of the church and yard, and saw that no doves haunted the bell-house near the choir.

A canon 'intitled' to sing mass was not bound to entertain the assistants or ministers, unless of his own accord he invited them to take refreshment (*comestio*). In later times, on the quarterly 'cake days,' a trace of the custom remained in the residency being conducted to church by the lay vicars.

At Lincoln, 1440, the invitation was to be given on the previous day during the singing of the Ambrosian hymn, or before Lauds, by the canon's chaplain, a priest who accompanied him in going to the choir or chapter.

8 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

The Vicars being maintained at the table of their respective masters when resident, it was agreed that the Residentiary should receive his daily bread whether present himself or by deputy at the Nocturns, and also if either of them was sick, or had been blooded, with the license of the Dean or other superior of the church. The Canon or Vicar, if absent on the business of the Dean and Chapter, and having his expenses paid out of the commune, received his daily pence only on the day of his departure and return. At Lincoln, 1440, the major residence consisted of thirty-four weeks and four days, with license of absence of one entire day in a week, the days of recess and return not being reckoned, with one day also when he was blooded with the Dean's leave.

A canon who offended by omitting to do his duty was reprimanded by the Dean and Chapter; a Vicar was fined 1*d.* or 2*d.* out of his weekly stipend; and those of lower degree were punished by the Chanter or the *Chanter's Vicar*. The ten *Boys in the Third Form* or *Scholars* were chosen by the latter officers; and their names were written on the upper part of the Table near the margin; and those who were maintained in the household (*familia*) of a canon were to receive special kindness from the Dean and Chapter. At Lincoln, 1440, the singing boys were admitted in Chapter-house only in presence of the Canons.

In 1247 it was now ordered that no canon should receive the quotidian pennies who was not present in his habit in the Choir, at Vespers, or Matins, or High Mass, unless he had a reasonable excuse, or was

absent on Chapter business, or was going on a journey, or had returned from one. The residue of the commune was to be given to the Residentiaries, that is, those canons who resided all the year, being absent only during three weeks in each quarter with the license of the Dean or a Canon—his *Vice Gerent* : but it was reckoned to be a *Full Residence* if a Canon was not absent during more than twelve weeks in the year altogether. There was also a *Half-Full Residence*, where the absence did not comprise half the year, and in this case any share in the commune was a gift of grace.

The quotidian distribution amounted to 3d. to every member present at Matins, Vespers, or High Mass, and on great feasts 1d. in lieu of wine to those present at the Gospel at High Mass, if the Dean and Residentiaries approved. A Vicar, if prevented by illness from attendance at Mass and the Hours, was to supply his absence by one of his fellows in the same Form ; chaplains where there were two in a chantry did the same. Canons were bound to repair their prebendal houses, and if they omitted their duty, the Dean and Chapter compelled compliance with the rule.

Ancient Constitutions with regard to the offices were as follows :—The Dean presided over all canons and vicars as regards cure of souls and correction of morals. At Lincoln, 1440, all in choir bowed to the Dean when he entered or left choir, and rose when he passed through it ; he visited, with two canons, as assessors, the Chapter and all members of the Cathedral triennially.

The Præcentor ruled the choir as regards the service of song, and could raise or lower the chant; he tabled the leaders and singers for night and day, admitted the inferior clerks into the choir and, in ordinations, read over the names of the clerks to be presented. The Chancellor had the control of Schools or taught them, heard and ended the lections, kept, with the aid of a faithful brother, the Church seal, and drew up letters and documents (*cartas*). The Treasurer kept the treasures, ornaments, vessels, and utensils; furnished all the lights used throughout the year, rang the bells for all services, and opened and shut the doors.

The only excuse for non-residence was study at the University (*causa scholarum*) and service to the King, who might have one canon in his chapel, an Archbishop one, and a Bishop two. A canon might be absent without leave of the Dean for two days. Only those present received the commune. The dignity of the Dean and all Canons was that they were to make answer to the Bishop only in Chapter, whose judgment they were to obey.

At Lincoln, 1440, the Dean and Canons visited a dying canon with cross, tapers, and bells to give the extreme unction and kiss of peace. When he was dead the Commendation of the Soul was recited after Vespers; the choir and priests in silk copes carried him into the church, where the exequies were said with 'Placebo' and 'Dirige,' and on that night the choir kept watch round the bier on the north side before, and on the south side after, Matins, singing the whole

Psalter with a full voice. Next day the burial took place.

At Nocturns canons of Chichester were to appear in silk copes without embroidery, except on the four great feasts of the year, or during the presence of the bishop or any great personage at the instance of the Dean or other Major of the Church. A canon who intended to become a residentiary paid first twenty-five marks to the Dean and Chapter, and the same sum to the fabric; he was required to be present in choir at all the Hours; so that if he was absent at any service he had to recommence his residence. Every day he was to entertain at dinner the vicar of his stall, two other vicars of choir, the porter, two sacrists, and one chorister during the year. He also gave a banquet to the Dean and Chapter and all the ministers of the church, and strangers coming from any part of Sussex; and so at Exeter, hospites honesti were entertained on all festivals. At Lichfield, in James the First's time, each new vicar paid twenty shillings, called interest money, and at the end of his probation gave a 'Senie feaste.'¹

In 1662 hospitality had reached such a height at Durham, that a rule was made that neither the Dean nor any prebendary, during his residence of twenty-one days, except once weekly, should invite more than six persons, besides such strangers as they might accidentally meet, under a fine of 5*l*.²

The cost of such an entrance on residence, which was common at the period, with a fee of 100 marks

¹ Halwood, 264.

² Granville's Letters, ii. 140.

12 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

in other churches, and sometimes still larger hospitality, no doubt deterred canons from undertaking residence as much as the dislike to conform to strict rule.

At his institution the Dean, in the presence of the brethren in Chapter, asked the canon of Chichester if he would promise and swear fealty to the Church, obedience to the Dean and Chapter of residence according to the use of the Church; would not reveal Chapter secrets, and would keep all the ancient and approved customs of the Church. If he promised to do this, the Dean gave him the book with (i.e., containing) the Rule (a rod is now erroneously given for seisin), and common bread thereon, saying, 'I receive thee as a canon, and invest you in this prebend with the book for spirituals and bread for temporals.' Afterwards he said, 'Behold how good, &c.;' then the Dean and brethren gave him the kiss of peace, and afterwards being placed before them, he swore to observe the prescribed articles: 'I promise and on these holy Gospels of God swear to observe these articles, and especially the order of Chapter touching the money deposited for the yearly distribution as far as touches me.' After the oath, he was given a stall in choir and a place in Chapter.

When a Dean was elected by his brethren he was led to his stall solemnly with bells ringing, and the Chanter beginning *Te Deum*. Then the senior said a prayer, and the election being approved, the elect took his oath of perpetual residence, of observance of the statutes, of maintaining the decanal stock, and showing in his own person humility and patience.

He then prostrated himself before the cross in Chapter, the brethren singing three Psalms, 'Deus miseratur,' 'Ad te levavi,' 'Ecce quàm bonum,' and the senior saying a prayer. He was then solemnly led by the majors to his stall, and the senior said the Lord's Prayer.

The earliest instance of a distinct mention of a prebend does not reach beyond the reign of Edward I. The Vicar was to swear fealty to the Church, obedience to the Dean, reverence to the Chapter, and retention of his stall only at his master's pleasure, and the consent of the Dean and Chapter. There was also a statute requiring the new residentiary to pay fifty marks at his installation. The Dean, Præcentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer had each their own house and oratory, and the Bishop gave the vacant prebendal houses to the residentiaries at his pleasure. The Vicars occupied a College, with its hall and chapel; the Principal, who was elected annually, superintended the Vicars and reported offenders to the Dean and Chapter, received an oath of obedience, and appointed a deputy in his absence. The Vicars and other commoners were not to linger in the common hall after the nocturnal collation called Bevers; they were to keep silence within the precinct and in their chambers from 7 P.M. to 7 A.M., and were not to leave them for the night except by permission. They could not receive guests without license; an inventory of plate and a common seal were to be kept; all business was transacted in the common hall; the servants were to be delated but not corrected by the Vicars; the steward kept the daily bread and

14 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

buttery; they dined after Nones, then sung after the High Mass, and supped after the last anthem, sung in the nave daily; bevers were at 7 P.M.; an anthem was sung after meals, and the Bible or some other lection was read during the time. Vicars were not to carry swords in the city, or keep dogs in their rooms; rules were also prescribed for keeping the quadrangle and cloister clean, for the overseership of lands, distribution of fines, quarterly reading of the Statutes, and choice of servants.

The System in the Old Foundation embraced four persons or dignitaries, the Dean, Præcentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer, who occupied the four corners of the choir to overlook the good order of the members of the church; Archdeacons were placed next in order, and then Canons and Prebendaries, according to their order of installation or the foundation of their stalls. Gradually a system of deputies grew up—Bishops had their suffragans, and evaded the Canon which required them at least to reside in their Cathedrals on some of the greater feasts and in part of Lent,¹ and so dignitaries had their representatives, the Sub-Dean, Sub-Chanter, Sub-Chancellor, and Sub-Treasurer; and Minor Canons, as at St. Paul's and Hereford, with right to celebrate at the high altar; or Vicars were appointed for each of the Major Canons, whether as Priest, Deacon, or Sub-Deacon. In some cases a Sub-Dean and Sub-Chanter of Canons, as at York, Lincoln, and Salisbury, held an intermediate rank between the dignitaries and Canons.

¹ Lyndw. liii. t. iv. 131.

CHANGES AT THE REFORMATION—CATHEDRALS OF THE
NEW FOUNDATION—HENRY THE EIGHTH'S ORIGINAL
AND AMENDED SCHEMES—FIRST CONSTITUTION OF
NORWICH—WESTMINSTER ONCE A CATHEDRAL—
ROBBING PETER TO PAY PAUL—PETER SHAVES PAUL
—COVENTRY CATHEDRAL DESTROYED—BATH CATHE-
DRAL LEFT A RUIN—EVILS OF A VICARIOUS SYSTEM.

IN the Cathedrals of the New Foundation which were recast, with the exception of the Dean, the dignitaries disappeared. A precentor and sacrist, annually elective by the Dean and Chapter from among the minor canons, and two officers, a sub-dean and treasurer among the prebendaries (as they were called until the recent act of spoliation), represented them: a Gospeller and Epistolar were to assist the celebrant; and a grammar-school, in which the course was to embrace Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and Logic, was supplemented by a liberal foundation for Divinity students at the University; a reader of Divinity and Latin was to give instruction, and a certain number of the prebendaries were to be accredited preachers to assist the clergy within a certain area round the Cathedral; whilst a master of the children, lay singers and choristers, to conduct the solemn service of the choir, were appointed. The precentor noted the absences of the various members from choir. The monastic constitution never worked well, for the monks,¹ unlike the secular canons, were constantly at issue with their bishops.

¹ Ang. Sac. i. 620, 436, 727, 749; ii. 480; Godwin, 521, 395, 348, 169, 59.

16 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

Henry VIII. seems at first to have taken the model of the Old Foundations, as at Norwich we find a scheme of seats corresponding to the ancient rule. On the south side of the choir were two Prebendaries, the Præcentor, and Chancellor, and on the north two more, the Treasurer and Arch-deacon; two others have distinct prebends, those of Lynn and Yarmouth, and among the sixteen Prebendaries occur the Sub-Dean and Succentor:¹ and the custom of St. Paul's is the rule prescribed in the Statutes of Carlisle and Peterborough. At Durham, also, by Statute of 1556, the custom of the Old Foundations was adopted of giving admission to a new residentiary by the delivery of a white loaf upon the statutes. It is a corroboration of this view to find that in the Scheme of new bishoprics (drawn up by Gardiner, 1531-40) which was contemplated by Henry VIII. Norwich is omitted. It includes six sees which were actually constituted—Westminster, Oxford, translated soon after from Osney, Peterborough, Chester, Bristol, Gloucester—and others, which were never erected—St. Alban's, Shrewsbury, Waltham, Colchester, Fountains, and Bodmin-Launceston-St. German's. The first scheme was one for combining abbeys with some of the new Cathedrals, Rochester and Leeds, Osney and Thame, Chester with Wenlock, Carlisle with Roche, and Durham with its cells. Had it been carried out, we should have been spared the scandal of Bishops of Rochester holding, as a matter of course, the Deanery of Westminster, and similar painful stories of episcopal

¹ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, iii. 490-4.

indigence and supplementary compensation at a momentous cost to the well-being and reputation of the Church at large. The revised list omits the adjuncts. In the end, Canterbury, Winchester, Norwich, Carlisle, Durham, Ely, Worcester, and Rochester were converted into secular establishments; and these, with the six newly-erected sees already mentioned, now constitute the Cathedrals of the New Foundation. Westminster enjoyed only one episcopate, 1540-1550, and owing to the transfer of some of the lands to the See of London and for the repair of St. Paul's, the proverb arose of 'robbing Peter to pay Paul.'¹

With all the specious show on paper, and the later erection of Ripon and Manchester, we have in fact fewer Cathedrals than in the early part of the sixteenth century, for Westminster has no longer a bishop, though, like the great churches of Antwerp and Brussels, Caen, Sémur, Brou, Aire, St. Denis, Vendôme, and St. Quentin, it is regarded as an acephalous '*Cathedral*,' from its dignity and imposing size. On the other hand, the Convocation always met in the double-storied Chapter-house of St. Paul's (and hence the names of the 'Upper' and 'Lower House'), until Wolsey, as Legate, in 1523, convened it at Westminster; and to this transference Skelton alludes, when he says—

Gentle Paul, lay down thy sword,
For Peter of Westminster hath shaved thy beard.²

It will be remembered that Shakspeare and later writers speak of the 'Cathedral of Westminster,'

¹ Widmore, 133.

² Stanley, 462.

showing how the old name lingered on just as the men of Coventry still speak of their city. It is said that the Poet passed the night in the Abbey when he was preparing the gravedigger's scene in 'Hamlet.'

The visitor to Coventry will now see, carefully preserved, a few bases and the lower parts of shafts in a continuous line, within a sunken pit. These are the suggestive remains of a magnificent Benedictine Minster, a famous Cathedral, rich in historic memories, which Henry VIII., with his usual wanton and wicked violence, ordered to be levelled with the ground: in vain did Bishop Lee intreat and beseech the infamous Cromwell that 'his principal see and head church' might stand, or that 'it might be brought to a Collegiate church as Lichfield, and so the poor city have a perpetual comfort of the same.' What a splendid sight must that Cathedral have been, with the noble churches of Holy Trinity and St. Michael, as tradition says that it rivalled even Lichfield in beauty—it was indeed a matchless group! Bath also was reduced to the condition of a parish church.

The crying evil of non-residence was a constant theme for reproach in the Injunctions of bishops and the writings of the period, as, for instance, in the stinging sarcasm of Richard of Devizes, that canons never resided, and praised God through the lips of their vicars.¹ At Hereford, on the occasion of Henry the Third's visit, neither Dean, nor Canon, nor Vicar was to be found in the city, and the church and establishment were in decay and ruin,² and Fitz-

¹ Chron. 66.

² Wilkins' Conc. i. 761.

stephen tells us that on the Feast of the Ascension at St. Paul's, Berengar, the envoy of Becket, found only a vicar as celebrant. In consequence of vicarious representation, and the creation of distinct prebends (except at Exeter), non-residence with all its evils grew up, and it was found indispensable to insist upon the value of personal residence, and invite it by limiting the share in the distributions and casual offerings to those actually present at Divine service. So after the Reformation the number of residentiaries became curtailed; the power of a voluntary protestation of residence being taken away; and the pretence put forward that the capitular funds could do no more than support a reduced staff. Yet Hacket in his day speaks of one Cathedral maintaining three hundred persons or more.

Then came evasion of residence on the part of residentiaries, the year was partitioned off for their separate terms of appearance, in many cases a single house was only retained for their accommodation; and at last public attention was called to the matter, and, in a sudden and hasty panic of great popular excitement, when root and branch reform was the general cry, the number of residentiaries was cut down, and all the stalls of members of the great Chapter (which had practically fallen into desuetude) were disendowed. It was a fatal act of destructiveness; and a spirit of selfish cowardice on the part of Churchmen suffered it to take effect when a timely acknowledgment of shortcomings and a vigorous show of internal reform might have staved off the hands of the spoiler, which have left our Cathedral establish-

20 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

ments so weak and scanty, that a repetition of the process would leave them simply useless and unmanageable.

MEDIÆVAL RAVAGES AND PROFANITIES.

THE Cathedrals in the north were 'half Church of God, half castle 'gainst the Scot,' and in the south were not exempt from disorders, profanity, and even bloodshed in the age of steel, when they afforded sanctuaries against wrong, and furnished an important part in the work of national civilization. At Winchester the monks actually reversed the order of procession in order to signify anger at a bishop's conduct;¹ but even monastic discipline could not always procure reverence in church, for Robert de Stichill, afterwards Bishop, when a young monk, was thoughtless and rebellious, and on a Sunday when he was ordered to sit in the midst of the choir on a stool, he was so ashamed of his appearance that he took it by the leg and threw it into the nave among the people.² It is also remarkable to read in ancient statutes some of the ordinances of older times, when it was necessary that such indecencies as playing at ball in church, buying and selling, quarrels, blows, and traffic in candles at St. Paul's and Chichester, should be rigorously forbidden.

Griffith of North Wales and Earl Ælfgar, on Oct. 24, 1005, entered Hereford and slew seven canons, who defended the doors of the great church which Ethelstan had built, and burned the Minster, with

¹ Ann. Winton. 46.

² Rob. de Graystones, vii. 45.

all its ornaments, vestments, and divers relics, and took away its treasures.¹ In 1139 the Cathedral was reduced to desolation and solitude, according to the touching picture given by William of Wycumbe.² In 1264, at the time of Vespers, the Earl of Leicester's 'squires of the devil entered the Cathedral with drawn swords, and crucified its sons and all that were found therein with fear and terror, with the Lord who suffers in His elect, and took away by force the gold, silver, and precious things. Many royal charters and other muniments necessary to the Church of Rochester were lost and torn in the Prior's chapel. Some monks were guarded as prisoners in the church. The armed knights on horseback rode about the altars, and dragged away with wicked hands those who took sanctuary at them. O, day of sadness and death! wherein the noble Church, with all it contained, became the spoil of vile fellows, who showed no more respect or reverence to it than the meanest stew or cabin. The holy places—chapels, cloisters, chapter-house, infirmary, and all that was holy—were made into stables, and deluged with the filth of animals and the foulness of dead bodies.'³

In 1217 Lincoln Cathedral was treated, by orders given by the Legate to the soldiery, as though its canons were excommunicate, and enemies of the Roman Church and the King of England, and the precentor mourned over a loss of 11,000 marks of silver.⁴ Hemingford says that the soldiers used it as

¹ Simeon, *Dunelm.* 187; *A. S. Chron.* i. 157.

² *Ang. Sac.* ii. 313-4. ³ *Edm. de Hadenham, A. S. i.* 351.

⁴ *Wendover*, iv. 25.

22 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

a stables and cattle pens;¹ and in 1216 Faukes de Breauté spoiled the Cathedral of Worcester.² Stephen did great injury to Exeter.³

On May 4, 1264, the priory gate of Winchester, the adjoining buildings and city gate, with St. Swithin's Church over it, were burned by the citizens, and many of the community killed.⁴

In 1273, on the morrow of St. Laurence, the citizens of Norwich, with the women of the city, nearly made an end of the Cathedral; they burned the great gate and parish church, the bell-tower, dormitory, refectory, infirmary, almonry, chamberlain's office, sacristy, guest-house, the Lady Chapel, and other domestic buildings; they burned or stole the reserved sacrament of the altar, with the golden cup pendent over the altar, and the reliques, books, sacred plate, vestments, candlesticks, and ornaments of Divine service, and murdered some members of the house—sub-deacons, clerks, and laymen—in the Cloisters and Close, and others they dragged away and slew in the city, or put them in prison. For three days they continued their horrible excesses and pillage, only two or three of the monks venturing to remain. The city was in consequence laid under an interdict, and severe measures were taken with the rioters.⁵

Sometimes bishops laid to hands, as at Coventry, where Chesterfield says the Cathedral was so rich in gold and silver that the walls seemed too strait to

¹ Gale, ii. 558; Ann. Waverl. 287.

² Ann. Wigorn. 407, 416.

³ Descript. by Soc. Ant. Lond. 6.

⁴ Ann. Winton. s. a.

⁵ Barthol. Cotton. 149, 423; Oxenedes, 241.

hold the treasures.¹ Robert I. took 500 marks of silver from the beam which supported the shrines.²

At Durham, Bishop Philip of Poitiers, because the monks locked him out, turned the Cathedral into a prison-house; he surrounded it with troops, set fire and smoke to the doors and windows, and cut off all supplies of food.³ When the Prior was commencing the Mass, he sent in clerks, laymen, and priests to seize on the altar linen, and there were the monks pulling one way and these intruders another way, a most disgraceful sight.⁴ Bec also was in collision with the convent, who refused to accept his nominee as Prior, whereupon he sent his foresters from Werdale and the men of Tynedale to besiege them; so close was the siege that no victuals could be introduced, the watercourses were cut off, and the gates of the priory and the cloister being broken down, for three days the monks were kept prisoners in the church. On St. Bartholomew's Day a monk dragged the prior from his stall, when a man of Tynedale averred he would not do the work for gold; and at length, overpowered, the convent accepted the patriarch's new prior.⁵

Hugh de Nonant, in 1189, so irritated the monks of Coventry, that, whilst he was holding a synod in their church, they rushed upon him and broke his head with a cross and spilled his blood before the altar.⁶ At Norwich Henry Spencer had a contention with his monks for fifteen years; they being too weak

¹ Ang. Sac. i. 443. ² W. Malm. 310. ³ Ang. Sac. ii. 727.

⁴ Ibid. 729.

⁵ Ibid. 750.

⁶ Dugdale, Warw. 102; Rich. of Devizes, 9.

for him, at last were glad to give him 400 marks to enjoy their privileges in like sort as heretofore they had done.¹

In 1394 we are told that Lincoln Cathedral on St. Stephen's Day was polluted, owing to the pride and discords of the clergy;² at Michaelmas, 1393, St. Paul's was also polluted with human blood;³ in 1400, on the feast of St. Ambrose, the boys were playing at the battle of English and Scots in St. Paul's Churchyard, and the play waxed so hot and those engaged were so many that some were wounded and some were killed.⁴ A Frenchman of vicious life, Prior of Campania and Proctor to the Bishop of Hereford, was slain at Mass after the Sanctus, before the altar of St. Mary Magdalen, in 1252.⁵ On Sunday, 1205, W. de Bramford, Sub-Dean of Lincoln, was murdered in the Church of Lincoln by a former vicar, before St. Peter's altar; he was at once torn almost limb from limb by the sub-dean's servants and others, and then dragged out and hanged outside the city.⁶ At St. Paul's, 1259, two candidates for a vacant stall killed each other in church. In 1249, at York, an archdeacon was murdered by a soldier stung with his reproaches.⁷ In 1561, a man who made a fray in St. Paul's Cathedral had his ear nailed to the pillory.

¹ Godwin, 352.

² J. de Trokelowe, 166.

³ Ibid. 164.

⁴ Ibid. 332.

⁵ Ann. Wigorn. 441; Ann. de Theok. 149.

⁶ Ann. of Waverley, 257.

⁷ Matt. Par. ii. 511.

PILLAGING BISHOPS — WOMEN FORBIDDEN IN THE
CLOSE—PURGING OF CHURCHES—DESTRUCTION OF
MONUMENTS—STATE OF CATHEDRALS.

THE effect of the Reformation in England was at first not altogether beneficial in a religious point of view. It was, in great degree, a political act acquiesced in by the whole nation; a revulsion against the intolerable burden of papal supremacy, laxity of discipline, and prevalence of superstitions; but, as Bacon says, 'men made it, as it were, their scale by which to measure the bounds of the most perfect religion, taking it by the furthest distance from the error last condemned.' In 1289 all the prebends of Lincoln, with the exception of five, were held by Romans.¹ Now Erastianism took the place of Popery, bringing in the tyranny of the State; foreign Protestantism regarded all that was ancient as an abomination, and sought to innovate all things, until all discipline was relaxed, the services of the Church neglected, and its fabrics and ornaments given over to havoc: so at York and Lincoln the significant entry was made, 'Abrepto omni thesauro desiit thesaurarii munus.' Bigots like Horne, and Hooper, who would not wear a square cap because his head was round, disreputable men as Poynet and Whittingham, unscrupulous courtiers as Holbeche, who left most of the churches in Lincoln in ruin,² and Barlow, intent only on marrying his daughters, which he did, to five Bishops, were evil counsellors in those day, when a serving man was made a

¹ Ann. Wigorn. 501.

² Camd. ii. 263.

Prebendary of Salisbury.¹ It is well known that chalices were converted into drinking-cups, altarpalls into quilts and coverlets, coffins into horse-troughs, and vestments into hall-hangings. At Zaragoza and Valencia are some of those once used in St. Paul's.² Sir J. Harington writes: 'Scarce were five years past after Bath's ruins, but as fast went the axes and hammers to work at Wells. The goodly hall, covered with lead, was uncovered. The Chapel of our Lady, late repaired by Stillington, a place of great reverence and antiquity, was likewise defaced; and, such was their thirst after lead, that they took the dead bodies of Bishops out of their leaden coffins and cast them abroad. The statues of brass and all the ancient monuments of Kings went to an alderman of London; the statues of Kings were shipped from Bristol, but lie in St. George's Channel, where the ship was drowned.'³

Bishop Arthur Bulkeley spoiled the bishopric of Bangor and sold the five bells, and would go down to the sea to see them shipped, and was suddenly deprived of sight.⁴

At Durham the unworthy 'dean' Whittingham, a man not in orders, like a Dean of Wells in 1537, whose infamous character has been lately exposed,⁵ either destroyed the tombs in the Centerie garth, or removed the stones to make a 'washinge howse,' 'for he could not abyde any auncient monuments, nor nothing that apperteyned to any godlie religi-

¹ Parker's Works, 176.

² Ford's Spain, i. 440.

³ Nug. Ant. ii. 147.

⁴ Fuller's Worthies, ii. 57.

⁵ Camd. Misc. vi. 47.

ousnes;’ he steeped beef and salt fish in the holy water vats, unleaded the Refectory, and would have sold the very bells.¹ Whilst his French wife actually burned the famous standard of St. Cuthbert, which was never showed at any battle but it brought home the victory,² he flagged his house with the grave-stones of the Priors,³ and, like Dean Wilford at Ely, intended to sell the bells for his own profit;⁴ exceeding even the atrocities of Dean Horne, who, when Bishop, 1570, destroyed at Winchester, partly for the sake of the leaded roofs and partly out of bigotry, the Chapter House, Dormitory, Refectory, Cloisters, and other buildings, which have left the south side of the nave now naked and bare.

The palaces and Cathedrals were alike in danger; Bishop Warton left only the palace of St. Asaph to his successors; and Bishop Barlow, to provide for his children, stripped off the lead from his palace at St. David’s and Wells, and would, as appears by one of his letters in the Cottonian Library, have pulled down the very Cathedral church of St. David had he stayed there.⁵ Possibly Elizabeth may have had such outrages in view when she ordered that all priests in Cathedral churches, who had wives, to have them ‘lie no more within that place.’⁶ Thorndike also wished Cathedrals to be communities of celibates.⁷ To the convenience of the Prebendaries’ wives at Durham Wyatt was within an ace of sacrificing the Galilee, and the beautiful initials and

¹ Rites, xix. xxix. xxx.

² Rites, 23.

³ Camden, iii. 119.

⁴ Rites, 34.

⁵ B. Willis, St. Asaph, i. 99.

⁶ Strype’s Annals, i. 405.

⁷ Works, v. 51, 576.

28 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

miniatures of many of the priceless MSS. in the Cathedral library were cut out by a nursemaid of one of the Chapter in order to amuse some fractious children.

At Canterbury, Parker, in 1567, doubted 'whether the married sort or virginal pastors had done most spoil' in plate and copes.¹ At Wells there are two corbel-busts, 'representing a king, holding in his hands a child falling, and a bishop with a woman and children about him. There was a tradition that when there should be such, then the Church should be in danger of ruin; the child, they said, was King Edward, and the fruitful bishop Dr. Barlow, the first married bishop.'²

Harding well asked Bishop Jewel how he could reconcile the destruction of the canopy over the altar while his seat had a solemn canopy of painted boards spread over his head? and Ridley, at St. Paul's, broke down 'the wall standing by the high altar's side,' that is, the exquisite reredos of St. Paul's.³ 'The Church was altogether scoured of gay gazing sights, such as gross fantasy was greatly delighted with. A woman said to her neighbour,' we are told in the Homily of the Place and Time of Prayer, 'Alas, gossip, what shall we now do at church since all the saints are taken away, since all the goodly sights we were wont to have are gone, since we cannot hear the like piping, singing, chanting, and playing upon the organs that we could before.' With 'the superstitious and idolatrous manners' went altars, sculpture, tombs, stained glass, carvings, screens,

¹ Corr. 304.

² *Nugæ Antiq.* ii. 148.

³ *Works*, 324.

paintings, pictures, and other furniture of unrivalled value. All monuments of this character were to be taken down, so 'that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere within churches.'¹ 'Polluted churches were purged' with a vigour and haste so violent, wholesale, and destructive, that within a year the Queen² had to issue a proclamation against persons 'ignorant, malicious, or covetous, who had of late years spoiled and broken monuments of stone and metal,' to regret 'churches at the present day, spoiled, broken, and ruined to the offence of all noble and gentle hearts,' and forbid in future 'the defacing of any monument, tomb, or grave,' 'the breaking of images not erected for any religious honour,' and 'the defacing of any image in glass windows.' The sacrilegious hands were stayed, but a worse destruction had befallen 'all antiphoners, missales, grayles, processionalles, manuelles, legendes, pies, portasies, jornalls and ordinalles after the Use of Sarum, Lincoln, Yorke, or any other private use, and all bokes of service which were ruthlessly defaced and abolished.'³

By chap. x. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. 1549, all images of stone, umber, alabaster, or earth, graven, carved, or painted, were to be defaced and destroyed, and all the old service-books to be burned; the only exception being in favour of effigies of kings, nobles, or other dead person. By 1 Edw. VI. c. 14, the crown unrighteously seized all the revenues of chantries and chapels,

¹ King Edward VI.'s Inj. 1547, n. 28; Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, 1559, n. 23.

² Weever's Funer. Mon. c. x. p. 51. ³ Edward VI.'s Order, 1549.

except in Cathedral and some other specified churches, and by 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 37, the exportation of bell-metal was fortunately prohibited.

The state of Canterbury Cathedral at the time of Archbishop Parker's Visitation in 1573 was eminently unsatisfactory. A great many old copes remained, 'of which the Dean had away with several,' whilst Mr. Bullen, one of the Prebendaries, a hasty man who struck people blows, threatened to nail him to the wall with his sword;¹ and in 1597 Archbishop Whitgift found that 'some Clerks had their wives or women-servants in their chambers in the dormitory,' and 'children, girls as well as boys, besides the choristers, were taught in the church.'²

A MS. diary of the year 1634 gives us an interesting insight into the condition of Cathedrals. At Lincoln there was 'solemn service, the organs with other instruments suited to most excellent voices:' at Durham, 'the sweet sound and richness of a fair organ and the orderly, devout, and melodious harmony of the choristers:' at Lichfield, 'the organs deep and sweet:' at Winchester, 'the organs sweet, tunable, and sweetly played on, the choristers skilful, and the voices good:' and at Exeter, 'the delicate, rich organ with viols and other sweet instruments and tunable voices making a melodious and heavenly harmony able to ravish the hearers' ears,' suggest a most beautiful picture of devotion and the beauty of holiness. Unhappily, all the choirs were not 'indifferent.' Peterborough Cathedral was in 'a deplorable condition' and 'Carlisle was like a great

¹ Strype's Parker, ii. 301.

² Strype's Whitgift, ii. 385.

wild country church; and as it appeared outwardly so was it inwardly, neither beautified nor adorned one whit; the organs and voices did well agree, the one being like a shrill bagpipe, the other like the Scottish tone, the sermon in the like accent. The Communion was administered and received in a wild and irreverent manner.' So late as 1756 Hume wrote on a window at Carlisle,

Here godless boys God's glories squawl.

RAVAGES IN THE CIVIL WARS—WORCESTER—DURHAM
—ST. ASAPH—LICHFIELD—PETERBOROUGH—SALIS-
BURY—BRISTOL—HEREFORD—CHESTER—CARLISLE
—LINCOLN—WINCHESTER—EXETER—ROCHESTER—
CHICHESTER—ST. PAUL'S—CANTERBURY—NORWICH
—YORK.

IN the time of the great troubles in 1644 the Parliament commenced a new spoliation of Cathedrals, when an ordinance was made that from November 1 all Communion-tables should be removed from the east end of every church and all rails taken away, with all tapers, candlesticks, and basins, altars, tables of stone, crucifixes, crosses, images, and pictures.¹

The savage atrocities committed by the Parliamentary reformers in 1646 at Worcester are too foul to record here. 'The organs being two fair pair, all the bishops' beards, noses, fingers, and arms and all, if they had any white sleeves, were broken. King John and the other kings that lie interred there have not passed better in this quarrel than with cracked

¹ Harl. Miscellany, v. 440-2.

32 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

crowns.¹ On Sept. 24, 1642, their whole army, under the Earl of Essex, effected 'the profanation of the Cathedral, destroying the organ, breaking in pieces divers beautiful windows wherein the foundation of the church was lively historified with painted glass, and barbarously defacing divers fair monuments of the dead. And, as if this were not enough, they brought their horses into the body of the church, keeping fires and courts of guard therein, making the quire and side-aisles with the font the common-places wherein they did their easements of nature. Also to make their wickedness the more complete, they rifled the library with the records and evidences of the church, tore in pieces the Bibles and service-books pertaining to the quire, putting the surplices and other vestments upon their dragooners, who rode about the streets with them.'² At York the brasses, enriched with images of bishops and others, 'which formerly shone like embroidery,' and had been spared by the iconoclasts of the earlier period of the Reformation, were stripped and pillaged to the minutest piece of metal by those who imitated their depredations and scandalous zeal, or rather love of lucre, during the civil wars; so that out of 118 epitaphs not ten were left, in the nave alone. York was 'the best preserved of all in the great war, the best preserved from the fury of the sacrilegious by composition with the rebels.'³ Gent records a tradition, that if his death had not fortunately frustrated his wicked project, a certain disciple of the Common-

¹ Carte's Letters, i. 15.

² Short View of the late Troubles, 557. ³ Evelyn's Diary, ii. 80.

wealth had obtained a grant to pull down the incomparable Chapter-house of York as useless.¹ At Lincoln, in 1641, the soldiers went in with axes and hammers and shut themselves in till they had rent and torn off some barge-loads of metal;² the Cathedral was so miserably ravaged that not one brass plate or monument escaped the mad rage of these men : at Peterborough the case was the same, and at Chichester a single brass of the Elizabethan period is all that is preserved : at Norwich only one remains. At Durham, in 1650, the Scots, in pursuit of Dean Ballanquhal, as the author of King Charles's Declaration, revenged themselves on the monuments and destroyed the stalls, when, it is said, a thistle on the face of the clock preserved it from their hands.

At St. Asaph the Cathedral was profaned by Milles, the postmaster, who lived in the palace and sold wine there, and kept his horses and oxen in the nave, his calves in the throne and choir, and removed the font to his garden to serve as a hog-trough.³

At Lichfield 'they demolished all the monuments, pulled down the curious carved work, battered in pieces the costly windows, and destroyed the evidences and records ; they stabled their horses in the body of the church, kept courts of guard in the Cross-aisle, broke up the pavement, and polluted the quire with their excrement ; every day hunting a cat with hounds through the church, and delighting themselves with the echo from the goodly vaulted roofs ; and, to add to their wickedness, brought a calf into it, wrapt

¹ York. Cath. 15.

² Evelyn's Diary, i. 92.

³ B. Willis, Asaph, i. 115.

in linen, carried it to the font, sprinkled it with water, and gave it a name in scorn and derision of that holy Sacrament of Baptism.' When Prince Rupert recovered the church by force on April 21, 1643, the governor, Russell, carried away the Communion plate and linen, with whatsoever else was of value.' The injury done to the Cathedral was estimated at 14,000*l.*, including the organ, the stalls, and the exquisite tomb of Lord Paget, which had been made in Italy. The vestry and chapter-house were the only buildings which had roofs to shelter them, the west front was shattered, and the great steeple beaten down; and the wreck caused by the effects of 2,000 shot of great ordnance and 1,500 hand-grenades was only partially undone by the continuous labours of eight years devoted to the rebuilding.¹ At Peterborough the beautiful reredos and a magnificent cloister were destroyed. Cromwell's horsemen in April, 1643, 'broke open the church-doors and pulled down two pair of organs; those which stood on the rood-loft they stamped and trampled on; they then tore in pieces all the common prayer books in the choir, and broke down all the seats, stalls, and wainscot canopies behind them; the great brass candlestick hanging in the middle of the choir, containing about a dozen and a-half of lights, with another bow candlestick about the brass eagle—these were broken in pieces, and most of the brass carried away and sold. They burned the altar-rails and threw down the Holy Table. On July 13 another gang of marauders plundered the vestry, and dragged down the stately screen, well

¹ Shaw's Staffordshire, i. 242-3.

wrought, painted, and gilt, which rose up as high almost as the roof of the church in a row of three lofty spires, with other lesser spires growing out of each of them. Over this place, in the roof of the church, in a large oval yet to be seen, was the picture of our Saviour seated on a throne, one hand erected and holding a globe in the other, attended with the four Evangelists and Saints on each side with crowns in their hands; some of the company espying this, cried out and said, Lo! this is the God these people bow and cringe unto! this is the idol they worship and adore! Hereupon several soldiers charged their muskets and discharged them at it, and by many shots at length quite defaced it. They robbed and rifled the tombs and violated the monuments of the dead, broke down the hearse of Queen Catherine, insulted the tomb of Mary Queen of Scots, the tomb of Bishop Dove, and that of Sir Humphrey Orme, whose effigy they carried on a soldier's back to the public market-place, there to be sported withal, a crew of soldiers going before in procession, some with surplices, some with organ-pipes, to make up the solemnity. The exquisite painted glass in the Cathedral and cloisters was destroyed along with the manuscripts and records in the chapter-house; and the carved work in the fair and goodly church, which was quite stript of all its ornamental beauty and made a ruthful spectacle, a very chaos of desolation and confusion, nothing scarce remaining but only bare walls. Many fair buildings were likewise pulled down and sold by public auction, the cloisters, the chapter-house, the library, the

36 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

bishop's hall, and chapel at the end of it. The lead that came off the palace was fatal, for the merchant that bought it lost it all and the ship which carried it on her voyage to Holland. Mr. Oliver St. John, Chief Justice then of the Common Pleas, being sent on an embassy into Holland by the powers that governed then, requested the boon of them at his return that they would give him the ruined church or minster at Peterborough; this they did accordingly, and he gave it to the town for their use, to be employed as a parochial church.'¹ In order to make the necessary repairs, the magnificent Lady Chapel, which occupied a position similar to that of Ely, was wholly destroyed. At Salisbury, however, the churchmen in some manner preserved their minster from falling into dilapidation when the services were discontinued, the revenues confiscated, and all its members dispersed (although the chapter-house sculptures were defaced); as Dr. Pope, in his *Life of Seth Ward* relates, workmen were often seen employed in making repairs, and when questioned by whom they were sent, were accustomed to reply:—Those who employ us will pay us; trouble not yourselves to enquire; whoever they are, they do not desire to have their names known. Still there was ample destruction of stained glass, of carving in the chapter-house, and statues on the west front.² Bristol Cathedral had a worse fate, for every indignity, which was supposed to be a profanation of sacred places, was offered; furnaces were erected on the

¹ Gunton's *Peterborough*, Supplement, 333–339.

² Hoare's *New Sarum*, 405.

side of the altar, and even the bedroom in which the Bishop's wife lay, at a time when common decency and humanity should have preserved her from insult, was unroofed for the sake of the lead.¹ At Hereford, where the loyalists gave false alarms to the besiegers by 'lights on the steeple,'² the chapter-house was unroofed in order to furnish lead for some portions of the castle.

At Chester, in February, 1646, the Parliamentary army defaced the choir, broke the painted glass, and destroyed the organ and font.³

At Carlisle, during the progress of the Reformation, the statues were torn from the canopies of the stalls, and ancient glass, brasses, and monuments shared in the ruin. In June, 1645, the Parliamentarians destroyed nearly the whole of the nave, the cloisters, the dormitory, the chapter-house, the prebendal houses, and part of the deanery, in order, as Sir Walter Scott says, to 'construct a receptacle for the sanguinary agents of civil strife and discord.'

'The chief Cathedrals of England have tasted this abominable reformation, particularly that of Lincoln hath lately been prophaned by Cromwell's barbarous crew of Brownists, who have pulled down all the brave carved works there, torn to pieces all monuments and tombs, laid them even with the ground, shot down all the scutcheons and arms of such lords and gentlemen as were benefactors or buried there; and, for which all Christians will for ever abhor them, have filled each corner of that holy place with their own

¹ Sayer's *Bristol*, ii. 91.

² *Duncumb*, i. 229.

³ *Lysons' Chester*, 568.

and horses' dung in so horrid a measure as the Lord Kimbolton would turn away his groom that should suffer his worst stable to lie half so nasty as he and Cromwell have made the House of God.¹

'The rebels under Sir Wm. Waller, on Tuesday, 12th of December, 1642, being masters of Winchester, instantly fall upon the close; they break into some of the Prebend's houses and plundered their goods; Wednesday and Wednesday night being spent in plundering the close. On Thursday morning between 9 and 10 of the clock they violently break open the Cathedral Church, and being entered, to let in the tide they presently open the great west doors, when the barbarous souldiers, greedy to rob God and pollute His temple as if they meant to invade God as well as His possession, enter the Church with colours flying, their drums beating, their matches fired—and that all might have their part in so horrid an attempt, some of their troops of horse also accompanied them in their march, and rode up through the body of the Church and quire until they came to the altar where they begin their work. They rudely pluck down the Table and break the rail, and afterwards carrying it to an ale-house, they set it on fire, and in that fire burned the books of common prayer, and all the singing books belonging to the quire. They threw down the organ and break the stories of the Old and New Testament curiously cut out in carved work, beautified with colours, and set round about the tops of the stalls of the quire. From hence they turn to the monuments of the dead, which they utterly de-

¹ *Mercurius Aulicus*, Sept. 16, 1644.

molish; others they deface. Bishop Fox his Chapel they utterly deface; they break all the glass windows; they demolish the monuments of Cardinal Beaufort, they deface the monument of William of Wainflete. From hence they go into Queen Mary's Chapel, so called because in it she was married to King Philip of Spain; here they brake the Communion-table in pieces, and the velvet chair whereon she sat. On the north side of the quire they threw down the chests wherein were deposited the bones of the bishops; the like they did with the bones of William Rufus, of Emma, Hardicanute, and Edward, to scatter over the pavement of the Church. Those windows which they could not reach with their swords, muskets, or rests, they broke to pieces by throwing at them the bones of kings, queens, bishops, confessors, and saints, so that the spoil done will not be repaired for a 1000*l*. They seize upon all the Communion plate, the Bibles and service books, with hangings, large cushions of velvet, all the pulpit clothes, some whereof were of cloth of silver, some of cloth of gold. They break up the muniment house and take away the common seal of the church and a fair piece of gilt plate, they tear the evidences of their lands and cancel their charter. The troopers, because they were most conspicuous, ride through the streets in surplesses, with such hoods and tippets as they found, carrying common prayer books in one hand and some broken organ-pipes, together with mangled pieces of carved work.'¹

At Winchester College it was long the custom to

¹ Merc. Rust. iii.

remind each scholar who subscribed to the Statutes of the chivalric loyalty of Col. Fiennes and Mr. Love, who with drawn swords on this occasion preserved the tomb of William of Wykeham.

At Durham, in 1650, the Cathedral was made 'a prison for the Scots, and quite defaced within, for there was to the number 4,500, of which most of them perished and died there in a very short space, and were thrown into holes by great numbers together.'¹

At Exeter, having the Church in their possession, they make 'it a common jakes, sparing neither the altar nor the pulpit. The holy and blessed name of Jesus over the Communion-table they expunge as superstitious; the pictures of Moses and Aaron they deface; they tear the books of common prayer to pieces and burn them at the altar. They made the church their storehouse where they kept their ammunition and powder, and planted a court of guard to attend it; the church they defiled with tippling and taking tobacco; they brake and defaced all the glass windows, they struck off the heads of all the statues on all monuments; they brake down the organs, and taking 200 or 300 pipes with them, in a most scornful contemptuous manner went up and down the street piping with them. The members of the church were threatened to have their houses plundered and their persons sent on shipboard, where they must expect usage as bad as at Argier or the gallies.'² The Cathedral was divided by a wall for the services of the rival sects of In-

¹ Rites, xix. xxviii.; Hutchinson, ii. 156.

² Merc. Rust. iv.

dependents and Presbyterians, the cloisters were destroyed, and a cloth mart established in the garth.

At Rochester the rebels 'violated the monuments of the dead, broke down the altar rails, seized on the velvet covering of the Holy Table, which they removed into the lower part of the church; and one of them discharged a pistol or carbine at one of the residentiaries who endeavoured to restrain their fury.'

At Chichester, on Holy Innocents' Day, 1642, they 'plundered the Cathedral, seized upon the vestments and ornaments of the church, together with the consecrated plate serving for the altar; they left not so much as a cushion for the pulpit, nor a chalice for the Blessed Sacraments; the common soldiers brake down the organs, and dashing the pipes with their pole-axes, scoffingly said, Hark how the organs go. They brake the rail, which was done with that fury that the Table itself escaped not their madness. They forced open all the locks, whether of doors or desks, wherein the singing men laid up their common prayer books, their singing books, their gowns and surplices; they rent the books in pieces, and scattered the torn leaves all over the church even to the covering of the pavement; the gowns and surplices they reserved to secular uses. In the south cross ile the history of the church's foundation, the pictures of the Kings of England, and the pictures of the Bishops of Selsey and Chichester, begun by Robert Sherborn the 37th Bishop of that see, they defaced and mangled with their hands and swords as high as they could reach. On the Tuesday following after

the sermon, possessed and transported by a bacchanalian fury, they ran up and down the church with their swords drawn, defacing the monuments of the dead, hacking and hewing the seats and stalls, and scraping the painted walls; Sir William Waller and the rest of the commanders standing by as spectators and approvers of these barbarous impieties. The subdeanery church was then pillaged. About five or six days after Sir Arthur Haselrigg demanded the keys of the chapter-house, where the remainder of the church plate was; he commanded his servants to break down the wainscot round about the room, which was quickly done, they having brought crows of iron for that purpose. Sir Arthur's tongue was not enough to express his joys, for, dancing and skipping, he cried out, There boys, hark! hark, it rattles, it rattles; and, being much importuned by some members of that church to leave but a cup for administration of the Blessed Sacrament, answer was returned by a Scotchman standing by, that they should take a wooden dish.¹

‘What say our leeches,’ asked Bishop Hacket, the eloquent defender of Cathedrals before Parliament, ‘to the rotting of horses three years together in stalls and pastures? Nothing! But observant Christians note that it began upon the jades that were stabled in the goodly Cathedral of St. Paul’s.’²

On August 26, 1642, ‘the troopers fought with God Himself in the quire at Canterbury,’ so profane Culmer opens the account — with the proverbial

¹ Merc. Rust. 139-143.

² Plume's Century, 826.

scurrility of a Puritan—of how he spoiled that ‘malignant cathedral.’ ‘They hewed the altar rails all to pieces and threw their altar over and over and over down the three altar steps, and left it lying with the heels upward; they slashed some images, crucifixes and prick-song books, and one greasy service book and a ragged smock’ (too coarse for transcription) ‘called a surplice, and began to play the tune of the zealous soldier on the organs or case of whistles which never were in tune since. The soldiers afterwards sang Cathedral prick-song as they rode over Barham Downs towards Dover with prick-song leaves in their hands, and lighted their tobacco pipes with them.’ On December 13 a worse destruction befel the Cathedral: the brutal narrator sneers at the touching pleading of one of the brave prebendaries and his equally courageous wife; windows and statues were broken in pieces. ‘A minister with a whole pike rattling down proud Becket’s glassy bones,’ some of the bystanders wishing that he might break his neck; crosses on the steeples; the goodly painted glass, ‘for which many thousand pounds had been offered by outlandish Papists;’ the superb figure of St. Michael holding a cross of brass over the south door under Bell Harry steeple, dragged down by one hundred men with a rope; an image of our Lord at the gate riddled with musket shots; ‘the glorious glory cloth, the golden tabernacle work, the costly copes, basins, and candlesticks and rich hangings’ were involved in one ruin as idols, with every mark of insult and coarse profanity, as ‘a blessed work of

44 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

reformation.’¹ ‘The windows were greatly battered and broken down; the whole roof, with that of the steeples, the chapter-house, and cloister, extremely impaired and ruined both in timber work and lead; water-pipes, pipes, and much other lead cut off; the choir stripped and robbed of her fair and goodly hangings; the organ and organ-loft, Communion table, and the best and chiefest of her furniture, with the rail before it and the screen of tabernacle work richly overlaid with gold behind it; goodly monuments shamefully abused, defaced, and rifled of brasses, iron grates and bars.’² They ‘threw the altar over and over down the three altar steps, and left it lying with the heels upward;’ the newly-erected font was pulled down, and brasses torn off from the ancient monuments, and whatsoever there was of beauty or decency in the holy place was despoiled. The horrible language employed by these marauders who also destroyed the arras hanging in the choir representing the whole story of Christ—which they stabbed, with imprecations too revolting to repeat here—broke down the eagle, and strewed the pavement with the leaves of the service books, may be read in ‘*Mercurius Rusticus*,’ p. 119, in a letter written by the Subdean to Lord Holland. The like abominations in 1642 at Westminster included the hunting the hare through the aisles, the smoking and drinking, the mutilation of monuments, the hewing down of carved work and the trampling of ancient glass under the jackboots of the godless troopers.

¹ Culmer’s *Cathedral News*, 19–24. ² Prof. Willis, *Arch. Hist.* 103.

At Norwich, 'a plundering commission, relying on the support of their soldiers, defaced monuments, broke windows, filed bells, dashed in pieces carved works, and reaved the brasses off the stones, the Cathedral affording them above a hundred; thereby defacing the memory of the ancestors of many of the most ancient and worshipful families in the county (including the effigies of two bishops and the chapel of the Hobarts), pulling down the pulpit in the Green yard. What clattering of glasses, what beating down of walls, what wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves, what defacing of arms, what demolishing of curious stonework, what pilfering of the destroyed organ pipes; vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross which had been newly sawn down from over the Green yard pulpit, and the singing books and service books were carried to the fire in the public market-place; a lewd wretch walking before the train in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service book in his hand, imitating in an impious scorn the tune, and usurping the words of the Litany. The Cathedral was filled with musketeers, drinking and tobaccoing as freely as if it had turned ale-house. Superstitious pictures were also burned in the market-place, and the seals of the court fixed where the altar stood.'¹ The total destruction of Gloucester in 1657 was only narrowly prevented; the tackle having been put about the tower and Lady Chapel for their demolition. At Carlisle the marks of the bullets fired by the idle soldiers in 1646, for amusement, are

¹ Blomefield's Norfolk, iii. 389-90.

46 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

still visible.¹ Prince Charles's garrison was disarmed before confined here in 1745.

DANGERS FROM MOBS—THE BRAVE BISHOP AND VERGER OF BRISTOL.

AT Wells, July 1, 1685, the Duke of Monmouth's Protestant followers tore the lead from the roof of the Cathedral to make bullets, but wantonly defaced the ornaments of the building. Grey, Lord of Warkworth, with difficulty preserved the altar from the insults of some ruffians who wished to carouse round it, by taking his stand before it with his sword drawn.²

In the middle of August, 1683, when the Duke of Monmouth came to Chester, the mob forced the doors of the Cathedral, destroyed most of the painted glass, burst open the vestries, rent the surplices and hoods to rags, and carried them away; beat to pieces the font, pulled down the ornaments, injured the organ, and committed other enormous outrages.³

On Dec. 23, 1810, at midnight, the vestry of St. Paul's was robbed of its valuable altar plate, including four large silver-gilt candlesticks; the robbers were never discovered. At Worcester and Westminster sacrilegious thieves were flayed, and strips of their skin have been found upon doors.

Two fires at York, one on Feb. 2, 1829, the work of Martin the incendiary, and a second, the result of a plumber's carelessness, on May 20, 1840, necessitated a costly restoration of the superb Minster. At

¹ Purday's Carl. 23. ² Macaulay, i. 602. ³ Hemingway, ii. 242.

The brave Bishop and Verger of Bristol. 47

Lincoln there was a provision in 1440 that such workmen were to be carefully watched as a precaution against such dangers. The fall of the spire and tower of Chichester, on Feb. 21, 1861, dragging down the adjacent bays, was repaired at a vast outlay, which showed, as in the northern county, that in these later days the spirit of love and munificence of England is not dead with regard to her ecclesiastical buildings.

The last havoc was made at Bristol, in the disgraceful riots of Oct. 31, 1831, when the chapter library was thrown into the Avon or into the fire. *συνωμοσαν γαρ πυρ και θαλασσα.* The sub-sacrist, W. Phillips, gallantly withstood the mob with a stancheon, saying that the only entrance to the Cathedral they should have would be over his dead body; and Bishop Gray, when importuned to escape whilst his palace was blazing, replied that death could not overtake him in a better place than in God's house.

RAVAGES OF IGNORANCE — WREN'S TEARS — CORNWALLIS SAVES THE GALILEE—THE MOB OF LINCOLN — ELY IN DANGER—MRS. COTTON'S BIRDCAGE—MONK WINS HIS MITRE.

THE very theory of the ground plan for a church had died out when Wren constructed his first miserable design for a huge preaching house, in which he was foiled by the Duke of York. Unhappily he was permitted to erect the wooden fabric of a sham dome, build a wall in front of the clerestory, and leave a

48 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

shallow niche for the altar. The lateral oratories are said to have been forced upon him, though he protested with tears, by James II., who hoped one day to fill them with low altars.¹ The Morning Chapel has recently received such an addition for early celebrations. Wren opposed the introduction of a balustrade, saying bitterly that people who were of little skill in architecture expected what they had been used to in Gothic structures, and 'ladies think nothing without an edging.'² According to the 'Parentalia,' a labourer by accident having brought a fragment of a gravestone with the word *Resurgam* on it, to mark the centre of the site of the dome, the incident was regarded as an omen, and a phoenix with this motto now appears on the pediment over the southern portico.³

The ravages committed at the Reformation and during the civil wars were almost equalled by those of ignorance and vile taste in that miserable era of false doctrine, decadence of ecclesiastical learning, and worship of a spurious foreign element in architecture, the eighteenth century; beautifying then was as fatal a word as restoration often has proved in our own period. In 1764, at Carlisle, the wiseacres discovered that the wooden ceiling of the choir was in decay, so they 'stuccoed it in the form of a groined vault, which is a great advantage to its appearance,' says Hutchinson. The ancient bishop's throne, the whole of the choir screens, with one exception, and the reredos, were removed, and a new

¹ Spence's *Anecdotes*, Ed. Singer, 256.

² *Ibid.* 257.

³ Knight, 254.

throne, altar, and other woodwork, after the designs of Lord Camelford, were erected at a cost of 1,300*l.*; at a later period the Church of St. Mary in the nave was walled off from the rest of the Cathedral in the beginning of this century; modern panelling, and walls as high as the capitals of the pillars, blocked out the light; and then, to counteract this wanton mutilation, the beautiful quatrefoil parapet of the clerestory was removed piecemeal; and, in 1780, two houses at the N.E. angle of the Cathedral were erected, with a scullery and upholsterer's shop between the buttresses.

At Canterbury, in 1750, the screens of iron which had parted off the nave and aisles from the lantern, and in 1787 the singular Neville's Chapel, built between the buttresses, had been removed; in 1729 a Corinthian altar-piece was erected; and in 1704 the old stalls were removed, and a throne of Corinthian design erected by Archbishop Tenison; and about this time the organ was removed from the north side of the choir to a position over the choir screen. In the present century the old Norman west tower was destroyed and rebuilt as a facsimile of the Arundel steeple, to the too obvious detriment of a distinctive feature of the fabric. The beautiful perpendicular screen of the Jesus Chapel at Norwich was in existence within forty years since; the ancient clock has also disappeared, like the famous horn of Carlisle.

At Durham, Wyatt plied his chiselling process to the western towers, the whole north side of the church, and the east end of the Nine Altars, between 1775 and '95. Four inches of masonry were removed

from the surface, amounting to full 1,100 tons weight, at a cost of 30,000*l.* A Gothic parapet and pinnacles, with Italian mouldings on the western towers, four great stone pinnacles on the Nine Altars, destruction of statues, defacing of buttresses, alterations of the front of the transept, and the removal of the room of the sanctuary watchers over the north porch, were among the atrocities committed by this shameful wrecker, who, but for the fierce outcry of John Carter, would have taken down the reredos and throne to make a screen in the Nine Altars. Atkinson's application of Roman cement and the chisel combined to the grand central tower in 1812, were harmless when contrasted with this man's design to destroy the Galilee. Conceive what the spire would have been which he wished to raise upon the lantern! He had actually stripped the lead off the Galilee, designing to make on the site a carriage way for the wives of the prebendaries to drive straight to their houses, when most opportunely the good Dean Cornwallis, who had driven in all haste from Lichfield, opportunely interposed. 'I saved the Galilee' was his happy thought, often loudly expressed. In 1799, however, the chapter-house was doomed to destruction in order to make 'a comfortable room,' the keystones were knocked out, and in their fall demolished a superb pavement, rich in gravestones and brasses; while the apse, with its side walls, forty feet in length, was completely removed, along with the old marble chair in which the bishops had been installed, under the supersintendence of the Cathedral surveyor.

At Salisbury the ruinous hand of Sir Christopher Wren was felt in the erection of new stalls and a screen, which overlaid the early English woodwork, and led to the removal of the rood loft. In the time of Bishop Hume, a screen, painted in imitation of oak, and of an indescribable design, was set up, and the iron chapel of the Hungerfords was bodily removed into the choir. Bishop Barrington, with ill-directed zeal, fostered 'improvements' still more disastrous. The Hungerford and Beauchamp Chapels, with the remarkable paintings of Death and the Gallant in the former, which flanked the Lady Chapel, were destroyed, and part of their stonework was employed to make an organ screen; and a reredos for the altar, which in contempt for precedent and taste was placed at the extreme end of the building in the Lady Chapel, far out of hearing and partially of sight, whilst a sort of transparency designed by Sir Joshua Reynolds and worthy of the 'washy virtues' of New College, Oxford, rendered the vista hideous. Disjointed fragments were employed to make a motley patchwork for mutilated monuments, which were sent to new positions, and in some instances were coolly ranged between the pillars of the nave far away from the graves which they had covered. The ancient rood-beam, an unique remnant of old ornament and devotion, was barbarously removed, as well as the chantry screens in the transept and two external porches. The stalls, pulpit, and throne suffered under Wyatt's reforming hand; the paintings on the vault, of high value, were washed out with a stone tint; and the superb de-

tached bell-tower, which had been wisely erected to save the delicate central steeple from the resonance of a large peal, was laid low. 'Yes, the monster has been here,' said poor Pugin, when he tracked the ill-doings of Wyatt. In 1834 the muniments of Salisbury strewed the floor, a feast for moths and spiders, when Peter Hall visited it, until Dean Lear remedied the state of things.

This evil genius of Cathedrals was called in at Hereford to effect a further execution after the fall of the western tower. He deliberately rebuilt, without any necessity, the nave—triforium, and clerestory, in his own bastard style; flimsy, poor, and discordant with the grand Norman arcade below, and with the sacrifice of an entire bay, between 1786 and 1796, at a cost of nearly 20,000*l*. What we have lost may be gathered at a glance, with a drawing of the old nave before the eye. In similar evil fashion, which would dismay a country mason of ordinary skill, two hideous arches with a square pillar were erected under each arch of the tower; and an incongruous screen blocked up the superb Norman east end. The Lady Chapel, neglected and dilapidated, was a lumber room of bookcases, and its exquisite details smothered in thick coats of whitewash. And the western alley of the cloister disappeared to make room for a brick building, which served as a grammar school.

The ridiculous furniture of the choir of Worcester, 'a Greek among Goths,' happily has lately disappeared; but, in 1647, the detached campanile was destroyed. 'Within these few weeks past, January,

1737-8, they have begun to pull down the old Gothic chapel belonging to the bishop's palace at Hereford, in order to erect a pile in a politer taste for the public service.'¹ The chapter-house was also destroyed by him.²

At Lichfield, Wyatt in 1788 laid open the choir to the Lady Chapel, and filled up the lateral arches, which had opened to the aisles, with a plain wall. Within memory the Early English woodwork of Wells has given place to a set of worthless, cold, incongruous stone stalls. At Lichfield, a dean being apprehensive that the rows of statues on the west front would some day fall on his head, employed a chimney sweep boy, at great hazard, to pull them down.

It is time to turn from a painful subject; our losses are irreparable, but at least we have generally got rid of pews; ladies' galleries (which have disappeared at Worcester) only remain at Peterborough in their full obtrusiveness. It is to be hoped that, with the incongruous stall work and screen, they may very speedily be removed. In 1740, the ladies' pews at York, by order of Dean Osbaldiston, were rebuilt; 'the Canons' ladies' pew' still deforms Durham, and at Winchester a motley square of pews still blocks up the centre of the choir. At Ripon some of the tabernacle work of the stalls was converted into gallery fronts and pews. In 1753, eleven images of kings over the west door of Lincoln were pulled down in order to put up a foolish inscription of the names of the subscribers to the new railings.

At Lincoln, in Browne Willis's plan (1730), the

¹ Defoe, iii.277.

² Price's Hereford, 136.

screens at the east end of the presbytery are still shown; now the only tokens of the site of the chapels are the raised altar-steps. The new paving (1791), as in other Cathedrals, completely removed the ancient gravestones; but here, although Brasenose College would have restored the brass of their founder, Bishop Smith, the offer was declined. Other stones were removed to the cloisters, which were used as a sort of workshop, and were broken and defaced. Mr. Essex erected a wretched reredos in place of that made up of Palladian panelling. In 1547 the great central spire fell, and wrecked the battlements, which were replaced after his own design by Essex in 1775, who built up a hideous reredos; he and James also erected the incongruous arches at the west end of the nave. Peck, in a dedication to his '*Desiderata Curiosa*,' actually in all seriousness complimented Bishop Reynolds on his gift of the palace of Lincoln as a quarry for the repairs of the Cathedral. In 1808 the spires were removed from the western towers in spite of every argument; and though, in 1726, the townsmen had uprisen in a body to resist a similar purpose, and were only calmed by a politic proclamation of the bellman.¹ Those of Durham in 1665, Ripon in 1664, and other spires of Hereford, Rochester, and Ely, have disappeared since the views in the '*Monasticon*' were engraved.

At Chichester, in 1735, the most wretched innovations were effected; the Lady Chapel converted into a library, being provided with places for brooms and coals behind the bookcases, and the choir with

¹ History of Lincoln, 70

accommodation for ladders, and the like.! At Gloucester, Fowler, afterwards bishop, actually destroyed with his own hand some fine glass in 1679, and Bishop Benson in 1741 mutilated the interior of the Church.

Altarpieces came into vogue as at Lincoln, Worcester, and Winchester, often in place of hangings of tapestry, which were in the seventeenth century not an uncommon decoration. It was removed at York in 1760.

At Winchester the beautiful ceiling of the chapel of the Guardian Angels was broken through into large holes for the leaders to the organ not many years since. The affectation of vistas introduced by Wyatt the Destructive; restoration so-called, in recasting buildings, scraping of stones, and actual destruction as at Wells and Worcester; have bared our Cathedrals and Closes, so that the old features are no longer discernible, and the old arrangements lost.

I shall now add a few notices of Cathedrals in the seventeenth century. 'Ely is (1738) in some part so ancient that it totters so much with every gust of wind, looks so like a decay and seems so near it, that whenever it does fall, all that 'tis likely will be thought strange in it will be that it did not fall a hundred years sooner.'²

At Salisbury 'the painting in the choir is mean, and more like the ordinary method of common drawing-room or tavern painting than that of a church.' It had lately been repaired.

¹ Cole's MS. xl. fo. 141.

² Defoe's Travels, i. 85.

56 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

As many days as in one year there be,
So many windows in one church we see;
As many marble pillars there appear
As there are hours throughout the fleeting year;
As many gates as moons one year do view, &c.¹

‘Here, at Gloucester,’ says Walpole, ‘is a modernity (1753) which beats all antiquities for curiosity. Just by the high altar is a small pew hung with green damask, with curtains of the same, a small corner cupboard painted, carved, and gilt for birds in one corner, and two troughs of a birdcage with seeds and water. It belongs to Mrs. Cotton, who, having lost a favourite daughter, is convinced her soul is transmigrated into a robin redbreast, for which reason she passes her life in making an aviary of the Cathedral of Gloucester. The Chapter indulge this whim, as she contributes abundantly to glaze, whitewash, and ornament the church.’² Carter used to rejoice that Westminster Abbey was one of the few churches which had escaped the pollution of whitewash. Dr. Monk was one of the first to attempt the appropriate style of ornament and furniture in Cathedrals; and a mitre was considered the due reward, by the Duke of Wellington, for his zeal shown at Peterborough during his decanate.

The evil days have passed away, worse than those of pillage and sacrilege, when sloth and nepotism reigned; when Canons carefully pared down their residence to the lowest amount; when Residentiaries owed their preferment to the recommendation of county magnates, and chapters were a family compact; when the residentiary houses were pulled down,

¹ Defoe's Travels, i. 287.

² Lett. ii. 35.

and a solitary house was retained for a Canon in residence for three months in a year. Magnificent works of renewal or restoration, complete or in progress, are signs of the inner life of Cathedrals, which has manifested itself in special and more frequent services, open and free naves full of worshippers, greater devotion in choral song, and a willingness to keep pace with the demands of the nineteenth century.

THE DEMON AT WORCESTER—ST. WOLSTON'S TEARS—
ACCIDENTS TO ARCHITECTS—LOSINGA'S PENANCE—
CANONS BEGGING ALMS—THE FRAUD OF WALKELYN
—LORD BROOKE'S WISH.

CATHEDRALS were, like Rome, not built in a day, and even at their commencement their foundations were laid with difficulty, for Florence of Worcester relates how a horrid Ethiopian demon sat upon a stone at Worcester, and defied the exertions of eighty men to move it, until St. Oswald dislodged the incumbance by the sign of the Cross.

St. Wolstan, the bishop, whose pastoral staff fixed itself in the solid stone of the Confessor's tomb,¹ wept when rebuilding the minster, 'for,' said he, 'we destroy the works of saints; their happy age required no sumptuous piles, but dedicated itself to God under any roof, whilst we, careless of souls, heap up stones.'² The cradles of Gothic architecture were at Lincoln and Canterbury; at the latter the architect fell from a scaffold to remain a cripple for life, as

¹ Stanley, 35.

² W. Malm. 283.

58 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

Basevi from a similar cause met his death at Ely. Whilst at Lincoln, St. Hugh toiled with a hod, bringing mortar and stones to the work.¹ Herbert Losinga founded Norwich Cathedral in penitence for his simoniacal possession of the see.² In 1242, the monks vaulted the nave of Gloucester with their own unaided hands.³ The see of Carlisle was founded owing to the sorrow of Henry I. for the loss of the White Ship, and the dear freight which it carried.⁴ Bishop Oliver, in the reign of Henry VII., having been at Bath, imagined, says Sir J. Harrington, as he one night lay meditating in bed, that he saw angels ascending and descending by a ladder, near which there was a fair olive tree supporting a crown, and heard a voice which said, 'Let an olive establish the Crown, and let a king restore the Church.' In obedience to this vision, he rebuilt St. Peter's minster church, and caused it to be represented on the west front, with the motto *De sursum est*. The commissioners offered to sell the church to the townspeople for 500 marks, but they refused the offer, which was so cheap that the king they thought might believe they had cozened him; glass, iron, bells, and lead were sold and sent beyond seas.⁵

At Salisbury the Canons went on a mission to collect alms; and, owing to the contributions levied on farmers, the Cathedral was popularly said to be built on woolpacks. A license was given by the Bishop or Prior of Durham to bear certain relics of

¹ Metr. Life, v. 839.

² W. Malm. 152.

³ Chron. Glouc. 29.

⁴ Tait's Carl. 15.

⁵ Fuller's Worthies.

St. Cuthbert, in order to collect alms for the fabric.¹ At St. Asaph, in 1284, the Canons gathered alms, carrying a sacred book of the Gospels through the adjoining dioceses.² In 1442 King Henry VI. remitted all taxes due, as the Cathedral had been burned with fire by the Welch in 1402.³ At Lichfield the bells rang merry peals when the shrine of St. Chad was carried in procession into the city, in order to stimulate the gifts of the devout. Walkelyn of Winchester obtained permission to take as much timber from Hanepings as could be cut in four days and nights. The bishop set an army of fellers to work, and the whole wood was carted away to rebuild the Cathedral. Soon after, when William passed by, he exclaimed, 'Do my senses deceive me, or had I not once a fair wood here!' and it required a modest artifice of the prelate to appease the King's wrath. After the civil wars, wood and stone and the alms of the faithful were in requisition, when fanatics like Lord Brooke assailed Cathedrals. On March 2, St. Chad's Day, 1642, he was shot in his left eye by Dumb Dyott, from 'moated Lichfield's lofty pile,' as he was giving orders for the onset upon the close. Ever fierce against Cathedrals, he had, two years before, as he was passing in a boat upon the Thames, said he hoped to live to see St. Paul's with not one stone left upon another.⁴

¹ III. Script. ccxxiv., ccccxxvi; Regin. Dunelm. c. xxxv.

² Reg. Peckham, fo. 208.

³ Edwards, i. 73; ii. 116.

⁴ Laud's Diary, iii. 241, 249.

ENTHRONISATION OF A BISHOP.

THE method of receiving a Bishop at his enthronisation and visitation in a Secular Cathedral is noticed in my *Memorials of Chichester*, p. 59, and in a monastic Cathedral, by Green.¹ The monks of Canterbury claimed to have the consecration of every Bishop of the province solemnised in the metropolitan church; and, when the privilege was disused, to this time the Archdeacon of Canterbury, either in person or by proxy, enthrones the Suffragans of the province.² When Nigel was received at Ely all the street through which he passed was hung with curtains, carpets, and tapestry, the monks and clergy meeting him in procession; and within a comparatively recent period the bishops of Chichester were met, on their return from London, at St. Roche's Hill, by way of congratulation that they had escaped dangers from bad roads and highwaymen. At Ely on one occasion the Bishop removed all the obedientiaries at one stroke; for, as at Rochester, he had the appointment of the principal officers of the Convent.

INSTALLATIONS — CHOICE OF CHAPTERS — ANTIPHONS
AND ORDER OF STALLS — WEEKLY AND GREAT
CHAPTERS—A RESIDENTIARY DINNER.

THE Dean of York at his installation was invested with a gold ring,³ and was required to feed ten

¹ *Hist. of Worcester*, ii., App. ix. xxxiv. v.; Somner, App. 441.

² *Ang. Sac.* i. 632; Somner's *Canterb.* App. 323.

³ Drake, 557.

persons daily.¹ It was the custom of the Canons Residentiary 'to convene on the Vigil of All Saints before 9 A.M. in the Church, and there invite such as they thought good to dine with them during all the double festivals which should happen in that year's summer residency.'² It was the privilege of the Dean to 'see' when a residentiaryship was vacant, and the first prebendary who caught his eye succeeded. The last Dean who was elected by a chapter was Dr. Lowe of Exeter, and the bishop, and not the dean and chapter, now has the right of appointment to the residentiaryships in the Old Foundations. The last election of a residentiary by a chapter was at Chichester. At Hereford, absence upon a pilgrimage was allowed to reckon as residence.

The Antiphon of each Psalm, as the Psalter was divided among the chapter to be said daily, is inscribed on the stalls of the canons at Lincoln and St. Paul's; in the latter Cathedral when a canon was promoted to a dignity the Dean led him to his new stall, and, said 'Friend, go up higher.' As at Lincoln, when a major who had no prebend annexed to his dignity was first installed in a prebend, and then was thus addressed. In the New Foundations, except at Bristol, Durham, and Carlisle, the dean and residentiary sit on either side of the choir at the west end.

At Lichfield the hebdomadary chapter on Friday, as at Exeter now on Saturday, and at Salisbury the Pentecostal Meeting of Great Chapter, was held

¹ Ibid., 558.

² Ibid., 569.

62 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

in the present century. At Lincoln, every Saturday the provost of vicars in chapter reported all offences committed in choir. The doors were guarded by a vergier.

The Great Chapter seldom is assembled now, except for the election of a Bishop. In 1634 a captain, lieutenant, and auncient of the Norwich Company visited Durham, and were entertained by the Dean, along with 'doctors, prebends, and citizens of both sexes and of both kinds — spiritual and laytie.' 'Good dishes and company were of both choice and plenty' at 'the Resident dinner.' 'After halfe an houre's sitting there came a young scholler and read a chapter, during which all discourse ceased. No sooner was itt ended but the grave master of the house begins a cup of wine to all his guests with a hearty welcome which his gentile servitors were careful to see every man pledge to wash down the fat venison, sweet salmon, and other great cheere this large and sumptuous table was furnished with. Thus we spent an hour.' 'A residence dinner,' says Mr. Ornsby, in 1846, 'still presents an appearance very similar in many respects to that which it did two hundred years ago. The host still presides in his canonical habit of cassock and gown, and the young scholar still comes in at a certain time to read a portion of the Psalter, after which the residentiary addresses him with "Tu autem," to which he responds, "Domine, miserere nostri," a remnant of the old Office of the Benedictio mensæ, in which it occurs. The poculum charitatis then makes its

round.'¹ At Christchurch, Oxford, when the dean and chapter dine in hall, a single verse is recited in Greek from the 1st chapter of St. John's Gospel, and then the dean interposes, saying, 'Tu autem.'

THE COMMON TABLE — THE VICARS' COLLEGE — OFFENDING VICARS—VICARS IN THE MILITIA—CARDINALS AND MINOR CANONS—WASSAILING—THE PRÆCULAR—THE FIGHTING GREEN—THE CLOISTERS—RAMSAY AND THE DEMONS—THE CARNARY.

THE Vicars' Common Table continued to exist at Hereford until 1828: in the Cathedrals of the New Foundation it lasted, under the chairmanship of the Minor Canon-præcentor, until the Civil Wars, but at Worcester fell into disuse in 1560. At Hereford, De Foe says, 'next to the Cathedral is the College, which still retains its foundation laws, and where the residentiaries are still obliged to celibacy.'²

Grindal at York ordered Vicars 'unmarried to be in commons together in their common hall within Bedern, except those which give attendance of the Canons residentiaries.' They were 'daily by course to read after dinner one chapter of the Evangelists, and after supper one of the Acts of the Apostles or St. Paul's Epistles.'³

The Vicars of Exeter who did not pay due reverence to the Dean were to stand in the nave before the Rood over the choir door at all the Hours for a day and a night.⁴ All banquetings and drinking in the

¹ Sketches of Durham, 132.

² Travels, iii. 267.

³ Works, 149.

⁴ Archæol. xviii. 410.

64 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

choir were forbidden in 1358; none, Canon, or Vicar, were to walk about the church except in their habits; and clogs, no doubt a pleasant preservative against cold feet in walking over the pavements strewed with rushes, hay, or ivy leaves, were peremptorily proscribed, possibly on account of its noise.

At Lincoln, 1440, Canons, unless infirm, were not to enter the choir using sticks; and the Vicars who had been in the practice of running and dancing about in leaving the choir, were ordered to bow to the altar at every ingress and recess, and walk orderly. They were forbidden to enter a tavern, or walk alone in the city. At York it was found necessary to enjoin silence on the Sacrists in the vestibule, the part adjoining the choir. In 1583, murmuring when a person came late into choir was forbidden at Hereford. In 1599, Whitgift protested strongly against mustering with the militia the singing-men occupied in the daily service of God.¹ At St. Paul's two of the Minor Canons were called 'Cardinals of the Choir,' and at Canterbury we find an Archbishop celebrant in 1294 attended by three Deacons and three Sub-Deacons, Cardinals.² The only Minor Canons of the Old Foundation, those of St. Paul's and Hereford, had the privilege of celebrating at the high altar, as representatives of the capitulars.

In Harwood's time the choristers at Christmas went wassailing, calling at the houses of the townspeople, with a cup for a collection of money or drink.³ At Chichester, till recently, the choristers went about singing at this time, and asked for money. At Lin-

¹ Strype's Whitgift, ii. 245.

² Somner, App. 441.

³ P. 284.

coln and Salisbury, where the original house remains, the choristers were lodged in the Close under the charge of a residentiary, and in the Old Foundations were mainly under the direction of the præcentors and chancellors. In some Cathedrals, as at Chester, Winchester, Gloucester, Wells, and Canterbury, they wear cornered caps, which at Norwich and Ely have red tassels, such as the grammar boys of the Cathedral school, including the choristers, at Peterborough wear; about twenty years since they discontinued the use of bands. Singing men and choristers wore gowns under their surplices at Durham.¹

At Chichester the verger who has charge of the cloister is called the Præcular; his other names formerly were Lord Robert (Bp. Sherborne) Bedeman or Orator, the word *precula* used in the Exeter Statutes meaning a set of beads. His duty was to take 'charge of the paradise and cloisters, and celebrate mass at the four altars in the choir; in the seventeenth century he purged the churchyard of hogs and dogs and lewd persons that play or do worse therein, and scourge out of the cloister all ungracious boys with their tops, or at least present them to the old man of the vestry.' At Westminster within recollection the College boys made the garth, so beautifully described by Washington Irving, their 'fighting green;' Addison complains of the noise of their games of football, where Ramsay had plied his divining rod, and was terrified by a storm raised by the 'demons' who guarded the hidden treasure. At Gloucester, when

¹ Granville's Lett. ii. 161.

the Parliament met in 1378, and made the whole place look like a fair, the ball playing and wrestling matches utterly bared the grass-plot in the cloisters.¹ At St. David's and Durham the dog-whipper is a statutable servant. At Durham in 1632, dogs ran into the choir and disturbed the service.² The Bedesmen in the New Foundations wear a red Tudor rose on the right side of their gown. The six junior choristers at Lincoln are still called, from their founder, the Burghersh Chanters. Bishop Sherborne, at Chichester, required that his four lay clerks should wear surplices, with his initials worked on the breast and back, in silken thread black and gold.

In speaking of the Cloisters, I should mention that at Chichester the garth is called the Paradise, and at Chester the Sprice; at Hereford, the Cloister-garth bears the name of Our Lady Arbour;³ and it may be observed, that it resembles the term Maid Arbour at Durham,⁴ and the Maiden Alley, the Slype, at Chester. In the Cloister of Chichester the first theological prebendaries gave their lectures. At Norwich, Worcester, and Winchester a Carnary received the bones dug up in course of successive interments. The Cathedrals of the Old Foundations had only three sides to the cloister, for in monasteries the fourth alley next the church was used by the readers.

¹ Chron. Glouc. 53.

² Havergal, 32.

³ Granville's Lett. ii. 163.

⁴ III Script. Dunelm. 156.

Ancient Rites—Watchers' Door—Sanctuary. 67

ANCIENT RITES—THE WATCHERS' DOOR—SANCTUARY.

WITH the pageants and pomps of other times I must deal, without lingering on their details. The Rites of Durham are full of solemn processions, the daily one with its crystal cross, and that on Easter Day so gorgeous and full of joy. On Good Friday, while the Passion was sung, the Crucifix was laid at the lowest altar step on a velvet cushion, and the whole Convent crept upon their knees to it. And then they laid it up on the Sepulchre, not a tomblike permanent structure, as at Norwich or Lincoln, but a fabric made on the north side of the choir near the altar, along with the Holy Sacrament, which they censed and left with two tapers burning before it till the dawn of Easter, about 4 o'clock in the morning; and then they carried a monstrance having the figure of Our Lord to the altar, while the choir chanted the anthem *Christus resurgens*. It was then taken by two monks down to the south choir door, where four ancient gentlemen of the prior's household held up a purple canopy over it, making the round of the church, the whole choir following with goodly torches and great store of lights, singing, rejoicing, and praising God, till they came to the high altar again, where it remained till Ascension Day. On Thursday after Trinity Sunday the Corpus Christi shrine was carried with crosses and St. Cuthbert's banner by the Prior, Convent, and choir, in their best copes into the choir, where *Te Deum* was sung with the organs, and all the banners of the city-crafts followed round St.

Cuthbert's shrine with burning torches. On Maundy Thursday the Prior washed the feet of thirteen poor men in the cloister at 9 o'clock, and the monks the feet of children. From Maundy Thursday till Wednesday after Ascension Day the great Paschal Candle, so tall that it was lighted from the roof, burned, with its seven tall tapers, in the choir.

A vivid picture is given of the daily occupation: the Sacristan in the early morning opening the aumbries in readiness for the celebration of masses; the high officers going to their chambers, the monks one by one leaving their little trellised cells in the dormitory with a study under each window, and the twelve cressets at either end of the room lighting them down to the midnight matins: the cloister, with its sumptuous windows, its northern alley divided into separate carols where each monk studied after dinner, taking his book from the aumbry in the wall; the western alley filled with a school of novices both forenoon and afternoon; the south alley with its towel-aumbry and the marble laver in the centre of the garth where they washed before going into refectory. There are the tables laid out on some high festival (for on other days the smaller room called the Loft is in use) with its snowy table-cloths, its bright salts and silver-edged mazers before each monk; the Novice reading in Latin a portion of the Bible from the pulpit during dinner, which was brought to a close before noon by the ringing of the gilt bell, which hung above the Prior's seat, and the passing of the grace cup. Then every day went forth the solemn procession, bare-headed, to the 'cemetery

garth,' to pray among the tombs of the dead brethren, until they returned to study in the cloister, which they left to sing Evensong at 3 o'clock. At 5 supper was served, and afterwards the last prayers were said in the chapter; then the bell rang, and, after saying the Salve, all retired to the dormitory.

Over the great north door was a chamber for two men, who were there always to receive persons who claimed asylum; and the sound of the great bell of the Galilee booming over the city told that some fugitive had fled to holy church. At Chichester and Norwich traditions of a similar arrangement are preserved.

OPEN AIR PREACHING.

At Hereford there was a Great Cross in the Minster churchyard, and it was only about the year 1791 that all persons who died in Hereford were no longer buried within it.¹ In London they preached from the steps of Paul's Cross, the congregation assembling around it, and only adjourning to the shrouds (the crypt) when the weather was unfavourable.² Sometimes a guard of soldiers protected the pulpit in the reign of Elizabeth. From his attendance here as a preacher, Richard Hooker dated the miseries of his married life. Sir Thomas Browne says of Norwich, 'Before the late times the Combination Sermons were preached in the summertime at the Cross in the Green Yard, where there was a good accommo-

¹ Price, 142-144. . . ² Blunt's Hist. of Reform. 179, 257.

dation for the auditors. The mayor, aldermen, with their wives and officers, had a well-contrived place built against the wall of the Bishop's palace, covered with lead, so that they were not offended by rain. Upon the north side of the church places were built gallery-wise, one above another, where the Dean, Prebends, and their wives, gentlemen, and the better sort, very well heard the sermon; the rest either stood or sat in the green, upon long forms provided for them, paying a penny or halfpenny apiece as they did at St. Paul's Cross in London. The Bishop and Chancellor heard the sermons at the windows of the Bishop's palace. The pulpit had a large covering of lead over it, and a Cross upon it, and there were eight or ten stairs of stone about it, upon which the hospital boys and others stood. The preacher had his face to the south, and there was a painted board of a foot and a half broad and about a yard and a half long hanging over his head before, upon which was painted the names of the benefactors towards the Combination sermon.' Lestrangle (before 1641) says, that on high festivals the Bishop or Dean preached at Norwich in their scarlet gowns.¹

At Lincoln, Canterbury, and Rochester the Watchers' door and chamber are still remembered by name, which were used by men who patrolled the church at night to see that all was safe from robbers and fire. At Worcester, Oxford, and Lichfield, the gallery used for this purpose still remain. At Canterbury, in times of danger, bandogs were loosed

¹ *Anec. and Trad. Camd. Soc.* v. 21.

to guard the shrine, which was more costly than the treasures of kings.¹

PARISH CHURCH—USE OF TRIFORIUM—THE DRAGON
HEAD OF YORK.

NORWICH, Ripon, Manchester, Hereford and Chester still contain, and Carlisle till recently included, a parish church. Lichfield, Exeter, and St. Paul's also have a second altar. At Salisbury marriages within the last half century have been solemnized in one there, and that of St. Peter's was removed from Chichester, as in still earlier times was the case at Lincoln. At St. Paul's, the parish church of St. Faith, after 1256, was in the crypt. At York the triforium has a stone rail, and at Chichester these galleries were used at the re-opening of the Cathedral, and at Norwich at Bishop Stanley's funeral, and are still used, for congregational purposes, at the nave services at Westminster Abbey. At York, probably in allusion to Ps. lxxiv. 13, a dragon's head, still remaining, supported the font cover, and fronts a statue of the Christian Warrior.

ANCIENT NAME OF THE CLOSE.

I MAY, by the way, mention that old names still cling about the Closes of the monastic Cathedrals, as the Precincts at Norwich, Rochester, Peterborough,

¹ For further information with regard to the internal furniture and arrangement, and the plan of the Close and adjacent buildings, I must refer to my 'Interior and Precincts of a Gothic Minster.' [Masters.]

and Canterbury; at Carlisle, the Abbey; at Durham, Gloucester, Ely, Bristol, and Worcester, the College; at Chester, the Abbey Square, and at Westminster the Cloisters; whilst at Wells, Cathedral Green; at Chichester, Canon Lane; at Exeter, Cathedral Yard; and at Lincoln and York, Minster Yard, preserve the old names, as Deanery and Subdeanery, the Precentory at Lincoln, and the Chantry and Treasury at Chichester denote the old residence of the dignitaries. The Choristers' House remains at Lincoln. In the close of St. Paul's, on one festival of the patron saint, Henry II. fed fifteen thousand people. Exhibitions also took place; at Durham a rope-dancer performed on a cord stretched between the towers, but fell and broke his neck.¹

NOTICES ON DOORS — LOTTERIES, AND PENANCES—
THORNS PLACED BEFORE DOORS—PARDON DOORS—
DR. LAKE'S ESCAPE.

IN 1395, the Lollards fixed their heretical conclusions on the doors of St. Paul's and Westminster, with various insolent verses.² The first lottery drawn in England was held at St. Paul's door in 1569; and others were drawn there in 1586 and 1612. Bishop Ralph at Chichester, the partisan of St. Anselm, when Henry II. levied a tax upon priests, ordered the cessation of Divine service, with the exception of that in the choir, and directed the doors of the Cathedral to be barred with thorns.³ At the west door of

¹ Ormsby, 14.

² Trökelowe, 174, 182.

³ W. Malm. 206.

his minster, Archbishop Sewal, of York, sat on Maundy Thursday to reconcile penitents, and those who were obdurate were bound to the pillars and publicly whipped; and Bishop Kirkham scourged one of the noblest barons in England at the door of Durham, according to the Chronicle of Lanercost. In 1250, the Dean of St. Paul's closed the doors against Archbishop Boniface, under whose robes a breastplate ominously glittered. The great doors of a Cathedral are only opened for the reception of a Sovereign or a Bishop. At York, on Shrove Tuesday, the doors of York were thrown open all day, and all the apprentices, servants, and journeymen, streamed in to ring the Pancake bell, with such gross excesses that the attempt of Dr. Lake to stop the scandal nearly cost him his life. Bishop Hacket, on the doors of Lichfield, wrote up a Latin verse forbidding candidates for holy orders wearing long hair. There were Pardon doors at St. Paul's and Chichester, for the sale of Indulgences.

PROCESSIONS: CANTERBURY, NORWICH, CHICHESTER,
YORK, LINCOLN, PROCESSIONS—NO PROCESSIONS—
NO CHOIR, TAPESTRY HANGINGS ON SUCH OCCA-
SIONS—PRAYERS IN VESTRY—ORDER OF PROCESSION
—ANCIENT PROCESSIONS—THE FRAY AT CHICHESTER
—SINGING WOMEN—THE DANCING ROUNDHEADS—
THE PROCESSION OF FLAGELLANTS.

PARKER, the last primate who wore the fur almuce as 'a collar of sables' at his consecration, was a man intimately versed in the traditions of the Church,

and directed in 1570 that 'all they of the choir with the whole foundation, after service done by 8 A.M., should stand in the body of the church, on either side of the middle aisle, in due order,' and so 'until the repairing of the nave in 1788, there were at Canterbury two parallel lines cut in the pavement, about eight feet asunder, to show what room should be kept clear for processions.'¹ At Norwich the rings remain on the pillars towards the aisle for the ropes, which were used with a similar design. Mr. Valentine remembered at Chichester a line of processional stones in the nave; and at Lincoln, until 1790, two rows of circular stones remained.

In 1536, when Henry VIII. and his queen of the time visited the Minster, the Bishop of Lincoln, with the whole quire and cross, were ready, and stood in the Minster along on both sides, the body of the church giving attendance when his grace alighted at the west end.² The socket for the processional cross still remains near the central pillar of the Chapter-house. These circles were destroyed in 1736, at York; they may be seen marked in old ground-plans of the Minster, and are thus described: 'A number of circles, which ranged from the west end up the middle isle, on each side and in the centre. They were about forty-four on a side, about two feet in diameter, and as much in distance from one another. Those in the midst were fewer in number, larger, and exactly fronted the entrance of the great west door, that circle nearest the entrance being the largest of all. We take all these to have been drawn out for

¹ Gostling, 180.

² Brooke's Lincoln, 11.

the ecclesiastics and dignitaries of the church to stand in, habited according to their proper distinctions, to receive an Archbishop for installation, or on any other solemn occasion. The Dean and other great dignitaries, we presume, possessed the middle space, whilst the prebendaries, vicars, sacrists, priests at altars belonging to the church, ranged on either side, and all together, when clad in their proper copes and vestments, must have made a glorious appearance, from whence we take this isle was called the Processional Isle.'

York presented a strange scene when on the Vigil of the Epiphany, 1190, the Dean and certain of the chapter refused to receive in procession the Archbishop, who had come to enquire about the persecution of the Jews. Vespers had begun, the primate and præcentor ordered the choir to be silent, the Dean and treasurer bade them sing; and the latter terminated the unseemly dispute by putting out all the lights,¹ but the Archbishop retorted by having the bells removed and laid into the earth,² and putting the church under an interdict.

The hooks for tapestry hangings used on such occasions remain in the nave at Winchester.

Bishop Hacket revived a procession and the Litany desk at the reconciliation of Lichfield. In several parts of Westminster, where the old pavement remains, a line of square stones between the ordinary diamond-patterns, may be traced, which once guided the progress of the procession. The Queen and Prin-

¹ History of Church of York, 1768, 35.

² Hoveden, iii. 31. ³ Bened. Petrib. ii. 108.

76 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

cesses, in 1803, witnessed the processions of the Knights of the Bath from the Dean's gallery in the south aisle of Westminster, and as it passed, the trumpets sounded and the knights made obeisance.

✓ The orderly procession on week days, juniors going first, was commenced at Bristol, and on Sundays at Canterbury, where the verger precedes the clergy, and not the Dean and Chapter. At Ely and Chichester the Dean precedes the Chapter in going to and from choir; and prayers are said previously by the senior present in the Choristers' Vestry at Chichester; at Durham they are said before service; and at Hereford both before and after by a chorister. At Ely there are prayers in the boys' vestry.

✓ At Bristol the capitular members intervene between the lay clerks and choristers; at St. Paul's they form three separate processions, which merge into one under the dome. At Durham, and in most cathedrals, the choristers and clerks walk two and two, and the clergy singly. Theological students at Durham and Lichfield close the procession. At Ely exceptionally the Bishop walks between the choir and Dean; and ordinarily he is last in the procession. At Canterbury, preceded by his verger, he walks with the Dean. At Westminster, at the striking of the clock, the members drop in independently.

At Durham there was a custom of coming to celebration by the south-east door; at Chichester the clergy go out at this side after it. At Chichester the choir gates were closed before the last peal for any office, the south door being left open for the ministers of the choir by Story's Statutes.

Ancient Processions—Fray at Chichester. 77

At St. Paul's the citizens yearly visited the tomb of the great bishop, William the Norman, who procured their charter from William I.; and at Wells the grave of Bishop Beckington, the benefactor of the city, was treated with similar honour. The people in every diocese were required to visit the Cathedral at Pentecost, to pay their Whitsun farthing, but the custom fell into desuetude, though the offering continued to be levied. The Cathedral at Chichester is still called by the old folks the High Church.

On June 1, 1291, the processions fought upon Trinity Sunday, and owing to the bloodshed, service was said in the chapter-house until June 11, when the Bishop reconciled the Cathedral of Worcester.¹ At York the guilds came in solemn procession, in their liveries and with banner, on their anniversaries, to service in the Minster. At Lichfield the pilgrims were required to cross by the ferry over the Minster-pool, and approach the shrine of St. Chad in the south choir aisle. At Chichester the parishioners of the villages round came to blows when they visited St. Richard's shrine on Whitsun Monday, about precedence of access and departure, and Bishop Story required them to assemble at 10 A.M., and enter, not with long painted rods, with which they had belaboured each other, but with crosses and banners, and go through the church decently and in order. And so late as 1687, the question was asked by the Bishop in Visitation,—‘Is the pious and grateful commemoration of the founders, Wilfrid and Richard, made in Divine service on set days?’ At that time

¹ Ann. Wigorn. 510.

78 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

a list of all the benefactors was set up in an open place in the Cathedral, and the Feast of the Dedication was observed in 1682.

At Exeter, on St. Peter's Eve, the Canon's tenants and the choristers with paper shields of arms went in procession.

Sir T. More says that women sang songs of ribaldry in processions in Cathedral churches.¹ The last indecency of such a kind we may hope occurred on the following occasion: 'Sabbath Day, about the time of morning prayer, we went to the Minster of Worcester, when the pipes played and puppets sange so sweetely that our soildiers could not forbear dauncinge in the holie quire. Oct. 7, 1642.'²

About Michaelmas, 1349, some seven score Flemish fanatics, bare from the waist upwards, clad in linen, hats, and with red crosses before and behind, scourged themselves twice a day in St. Paul's till the blood flowed, with a whip of three-knotted cords, and then went in procession singing antiphonally.³

BOOKS IN NAVES — LINCOLN CATHEDRAL — CHAINED
BOOKS AT HEREFORD — GONDOMAR'S BID FOR THE
GLASS OF CANTERBURY — AND INSCRIPTION AT YORK
— SOUTHEY AT HIS STUDIES.

AN ancient desk and chain, preserved at Lincoln in the library, may have been used for the Bible which Henry VIII., in 1537, ordered to be placed in all churches for the perusal of the common

¹ Tyndal's Works, iii. 125.

² Arch. xxxv. 332.

³ Stow's Ann. 246.

people, who came, some to read and some to listen. Bale records, in his narrative of Anne Askew's examination, how she said, 'As I was in the Minster reading upon the Bible the priests resorted unto me by two and two.'¹ The sneering Erasmus saw in the nave of Canterbury 'some books fixed to the pillars, among them the Gospel of Nicodemus.'² At Hereford the books in the library retain their chains. Here, in 1798, Southey read the legend of the old woman of Berkeley in Matthew of Westminster, which, as it was fastened to the top-shelf by a very short chain, he was compelled to read standing on a number of books piled upon a lectern once used by the librarian. For the ancient glass of Canterbury, Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, offered to pay its weight in pieces of gold; and he was probably the traveller who set up the inscription in 'old Saxon characters of gold in the chapter-house of York: "Ut rosa flos florum, sic domus ista domorum.""

A THOROUGHFARE IN CATHEDRALS: CANTERBURY, WINCHESTER, DURHAM, WORCESTER, SALISBURY, YORK.

At Winchester there is a slype at the west side of the Cathedral, with a Latin motto to this effect, that one way led to the choir and the other to market; it was opened in 1632, in order to prevent the indecency of leaving the Cathedral open as a common thoroughfare to the Close and College.³ Archbishop

¹ Brooke's Lincoln, 12; Strype's Cranmer, 64, App. 42.

² Peregrin. Relig. ergo; Op. ii. 361. ³ Milner, ii. 132.

80 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

Parker forbade the Church and Cloister of Canterbury to be a highway or passage for market-folk.¹

All dignitaries and prebends of York were to be daily present at Divine service in their own stalls, and not to walk in any part of the Church at that time, 1572.²

THE CHOIR OF DURHAM SCREENED OFF.

CUTHBERT TONSTAL ordered the Chapter of Durham to set up strong grates, or screens of iron or wood, with gates round the choir, as at St. Paul's, London, leaving open that part of the church only when Divine service was going on; for fear of dishonest folks stealing the books and vestments, as there was no enclosure whatever.³ At St. Paul's, horses and mules were driven across the nave, and Weever gives a fearful picture of the profanity in his day.⁴ This scandal long after continued at Durham; and at Worcester, in 1750, the opening of the slype at the west end 'removed the indecent annoyance of passengers conveying every kind of burden through the principal north entrance across the nave to the cloisters, even during the time of Divine service.'⁵ At Salisbury, Laud, in his Visitation Articles, enquired whether the Church and Close were made a common thoroughfare.⁶ Bishop Sir Thomas Gooch, early in 1740, suppressed the indecent thoroughfare through the nave and north transept of Norwich. In the Lives of

¹ Strype's Parker, ii. 21, 23.

² Grindal's Works, 148.

³ Script. Dunelm. iii. App. cccclvii.

⁴ Fun. Mon. 163. See also Strype's London, iii. 169.

⁵ Chambers' Worcester, 132.

⁶ Works, v. 461.

the Norths it is mentioned that, at York and Durham, 'the gentry affected much to walk there, to see and be seen.'¹ The service at Lichfield is stated to be 'conducted with more harmony and less huddle than in any church, except of late at St. Paul's.'²

MARVEL AT WELLS.

It is a pity that these idlers had not had a similar warning to that recorded by Casaubon, and certified by Bishop Andrewes on the authority of Bishop Still, that, on a summer's day in 1596, as the people were at prayers in the Cathedral of Wells, two or three thunder-claps were above measure dreadful, so that the whole congregation, affected alike, threw themselves on their knees at this terrifying sound. The marks of a cross were found to have been imprinted on the bodies of those present.³ Most Cathedrals are now left open and free; a fact in 1857 which the American author, N. Hawthorne, commented on as peculiar to Peterborough.

PAUL'S WALK—TO DINE WITH DUKE HUMPHREY—
ABUSES OF THE NAVE.

THE central alley of St. Paul's was called Paul's Walk; the fashionable hours being between eleven and noon and three and six.⁴ Bishop Earle describes the sound of tongues and feet as 'a kind of still roar or loud whisper;' and about midway was the

¹ Comp. Gran. Lett. ii. 163.

² Lives of the Norths, ii. 144.

³ M. Casaubon on Credulity and Incredulity, 118.

⁴ Osborne's Works, 403.

82 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

Duke of Gloucester's tomb; and hence loiterers who employed their time in pacing the distance between the west door and the choir, were said to dine with Duke Humphrey. A Club used to assemble at it on St. Andrew's Day, in the morning, and afterwards dine together as if they were servants in his household; and on May Day the watermen and tankard-bearers sprinkled water and strewed herbs upon it early in the morning (after the fire, the nave of Westminster was occupied by the idlers); 'the south alley was for usury and popery, the north for simony and the horse fair; in the midst for all kinds of bargains, meetings, brawlings, murders, conspiracies; and the font for ordinary payments of money,' according to Pilkington. Every serjeant-at-law had his pillar to hear clients, where he took notes of his client's cause; when in 1552 they were appointed 'they went round the choir, and there did their homage.'¹ At the serving man's log domestics, like Bardolph, stood to be hired; rufflers, quacks, ballad-mongers, masked women, stale knights, and the Captains Bobadil of the period, and noisy craftsmen, plied their trade; drunkards slept on the bench at the choir door, and idlers with their hats on walked within it. On one of the pillars, Algar's, a prebendary's, foot was carved, and served as the standard measure of land. In the east alley was the Si quis door for advertisements. From the sight of a fly on one of the pillars Bishop Berkeley derived one of his finest theological illustrations. In the plague year three hundred pallets for the sick were laid in the aisles.

¹ Dugd. Orig. Jur. 142; Machyn's Diary, 26, 195.

ACROBATS ON STEEPLES—GEORGE III.'S REBUKE—
BANKES AND THE DANCING HORSE.

'FROM the top of the spire at coronations, or other solemn triumphs, some for vain glory used to throw themselves down by a rope, and so killed themselves vainly to please other men's eyes.' Thus, in 1555, 'a fellow came slipping upon a cord as an arrow out of a bow from Paul's steeple to the ground, and lighted with his head forward on a greate sort of feather bed,' at the reception of King Philip. In 1553, a Dutchman stood on the top of the steeple and waved a streamer, and kneeled down on the weather-cock, he received 16*l.*, but the wind was high and the lights would not burn.¹ When a silly fellow did a similar foolhardy trick at Salisbury, and demanded a fee of George III., the king replied, 'As the father of my people, it is my duty to reward those who save, not those who risk, human life.' Bankes and his dancing horse 'Morocco,' which was shod with silver, in 1600 ascended to the top of St. Paul's.² He was afterwards burned to death at Rome as a magician!

SINGING ON THE TOWER AT ST. PAUL'S AND DURHAM.

'At the battlements of the steeple sundry times were used their popish anthems to call upon their gods with torch and taper in the evenings.'³ On St. Katharine's Day, 1553, after Evensong, began the

¹ Ellis, *Dugd. St. Paul's*, 113.

² Boswell's *Malone's Shakspeare*, iv. 299 n. ³ Pilkington, 540-1.

84 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

choir to go about the steeple singing, with lights, after the old custom.¹ Knighton² says that the monks of Durham remained in the belfry at the Battle of Neville's Cross, and that at the close of the action their hymns of praise and thanksgiving were miraculously heard by the combatants as distinctly as if they had been close by them. Year by year ever after they sang *Te Deums* in the same place; and 'the custom was observed on the anniversary (May Day) till, in the confusion of the seventeenth century, it was discontinued, but was revived again on the Restoration Day, an occasion of infinite joy to the Church; and an anthem is still sung on the top of the great tower on that day by all the choristers and singers, facing about to every side of the tower progressively, that they may be heard all around.'³ One side was afterwards omitted, owing to the fall of a chorister.

SERMONS — LECTURES — PULPITS — AFTERNOON AND
EVENING SERMONS—DR. SHAW'S FATAL ILL-ADDRESS
—THE FALL OF THE ROOD TOWER OF LINCOLN IN-
TERRUPTS THE PREACHER—THE FRIGHT AT OXFORD
—BISHOP AYLMER'S GHASTLY RUSE—NO MORE OF
THAT POINT, PETER!—HEYLIN'S DREAM.

At Durham every Sunday a sermon was preached in an iron pulpit from 1 to 3 P.M. in the Galilee, and the great bell was tolled and rung for one hour before to give warning to the town.⁴ At Ely the sermon

¹ Cont. Fabian's Chron. 712.

² Col. 2591.

³ Camden, iii. 121.

⁴ Rites, 33, 40.

was preached under the lantern ; and the throne was used by the Bishop at Wells.

At Winchester, from the time of the Reformation until 1573, a sermon in lieu of a mass was given at the tomb of William of Wykeham. With his usual self-complacency, on October 25, 1570, Bishop Horne ordered the fellows and conducts to attend the Cathedral to hear the Divinity lecture, and be examined therein once a month, and 'on every Sunday the whole society to resort to the Cathedral to hear the sermon attentively, without reading of any book.'¹ 'The local statutes of all or the most Cathedral churches,' Hacket says, 'do require lecture sermons on the week days;' at that time 'some one Cathedral church had 300 persons and more depending upon it.'² Divinity lecturers were instituted at Carlisle, Durham, Peterborough, Lichfield and Hereford on Litany days.³ The prælector of Hereford and the prebendary of Wittering at Chichester still give theological lectures; until 1394 St. Paul's exceptionally had no such foundation. Sermons on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent, which had been the custom before the Rebellion, were revived after the Restoration in some Cathedrals,⁴ and in Advent at Durham.

At the Reformation the Chapter-house of Canterbury was fitted up with a pulpit, pews, and gallery, with a royal closet dated 1544, to serve as a Sermon House, and after service in the choir the congrega-

¹ MSS. Winton Coll.

² Life, 51, 56; see also Grindal's Life, B. i. c. 6.

³ Whitgift's Life, B. ii. ch. 3, 4. ⁴ Granville's Lett. ii. 145.

tion came to hear the preacher; but the disorder which ensued, and the preoccupation of the seats by those who would not attend in the church, led to its abandonment, and the incongruous furniture was taken away a few years since, as Gostling says, in 1796 (p. 176). In Gostling's time the pulpit was moveable, and taken from its usual position to a place opposite the throne (p. 255). At Exeter, Oxford, Hereford, Bristol, Peterborough, Wells, Worcester, Gloucester, and Chichester the sermons were preached in the nave. The pulpit in which the Residentiaries were required to preach four Latin sermons in the Chapter-house still remains in a choir aisle at Hereford; formerly it was placed in the nave where, as at Ely, all the people of the city came to hear the sermon on Sunday. At Gloucester, Worcester, and Carlisle it was portable, and stood in the centre of the choir.¹

At Salisbury, in the time of Bishop Hume, the sermon was no longer preached in the nave and, the pulpit and seats there being removed, the congregation retained their places in the choir. At York the pulpit used to be brought on preaching days to the first ascent between the ladies' pews, which had been reformed in consequence of the rebuke of Charles I. in 1633;² but in the time of Dean Finch was removed to another position. The afternoon sermon has been customary at Exeter since the Restoration, and in the nave since 1859; it was first of late years introduced at Rochester, and is now general. At Ripon until 1848 it preceded evening prayer. On

¹ See Plans in B. Willis' *Cathedrals*.

² Poole and Hugall, 177.

Sundays there is a late evening service at Ely, Gloucester and Hereford. At Lincoln, when an indignant Canon declaimed against the Bishop, saying, 'Were I silent, the very stones would cry aloud in our behalf,' the great rood tower fell and crushed many.¹ At Oxford, when Bishop Westphaling was in the pulpit, an icicle, formed upon the spire, fell with a crash so loud upon the roof, that the congregation fled in terror, until reassured by the calm demeanour of the preacher. Dr. Shaw, in 1483, in his preconcerted surprise, during his sermon at St. Paul's, at the entry of the Duke of Gloucester, when he was to call out 'Behold, this excellent prince,' was disappointed in his stroke of artifice by Richard failing to come at the right moment, and he made himself ridiculous by having to repeat it.² 'It struck him to the heart,' says Stow, 'and within a few days he consumed and withered away.' Bishop Aylmer at St. Paul's used to produce a skull from under his gown to stimulate the flagging attention of the congregation. A stranger interruption occurred at Westminster, when Dean Williams, sitting in the great pew, 'knocked his staff on the pulpit, saying unto Heylin, who was preaching against the Puritans, "No more of that point, Peter," and the quiet answer was returned, "I have a little more to say, and then I have done." On the night before his death, in a dream, he heard King Charles saying to him, "Peter, I will have you buried under your seat in church, for you are rarely seen but there or at your study."'³

¹ Matt. Par. 522.

² Hume, iv. 11.

³ Stanley, 449.

SPUR MONEY—THE COOK OF WESTMINSTER.

✓ SPUR money demanded at Hereford, Westminster, St. Paul's, and Bristol,¹ can be traced at Peterborough to 1661, in the case of the famous John Ray,² and at Durham, caused people to avoid service.³ It was a fine for entering the choir with spurs on, as their jingling interrupted the service; if, however, the youngest chorister being summoned could not repeat his gamut, the fine could not be levied. Bishop Finch paid eighteen pence as an offender, but the Duke of Cumberland pleaded, successfully, that it was hard if he could not wear his spurs where they had been first buckled on. At the installation of the Knights of the Bath, the Cook of Westminster stands with a cleaver at the door, threatening to strike off the spurs of any unworthy of their honour. He receives a fee for his speech.

THE MAYOR IN CATHEDRALS—THE LORD CHANCELLORS' WIGS CAUSE DAMAGE—CHURCHING THE JUDGES.

THE Lord Mayor was accustomed to attend Evensong at St. Paul's on the Feast of All Saints, Christmas, Epiphany, and the Purification.⁴

At Norwich, on the guild day of St. George, and later on the Tuesday before the eve of St. John, the mayor elect went in procession with the corporation on horseback, and after 1772 until 1835, in carriages to the Cathedral, preceded by the dragon, whifflers,

¹ Notes and Queries, 2nd Ser. xii. 229, 259. ² Ibid. 1st Ser. 374, 494.

³ Granville's Lett. ii. 162.

⁴ Stow's Survey, 637.

swordsmen, musicians, the standards of blue and silver, and crimson and gold, the councillors in gowns, mace-bearer, the city waits, the marshalmen, and the civic authorities, with the sword carried erect. The gates of the close were opened at their approach, and the corporation proceeding through the nave, strewn with sweet scented rushes, was received at the choir door by the Dean and Chapter. Rushes were used in the choir of Canterbury in 1635.¹ The ancient custom of strewing the choir of Bristol with sweet smelling herbs is still observed when the mayor visits the Cathedral in state. ✓

At Exeter, in 1549, the insurgents of the West, who wished to restore the Roman ritual, were at length repulsed, and the siege of the city was raised; the mayor still attends in state on the anniversary, August 6, with the incorporated trades, and his chaplain preaches a commemorative sermon.²

Bishop Sparrow (1684) says that he found a custom at Exeter that the mayor and aldermen, when they came from the sermon, were not admitted to the prayers of the choir till they went home and pulled off their gowns, but this custom was abandoned, on condition that the sword-bearer turned down his sword at the choir door.³ On July 16, 1708, it was agreed that if Divine service had commenced before the arrival of the mayor, the sword should be dropped at the choir door, and the cap of maintenance removed, but at other times the sword might be carried erect and the cap worn. On January 30, a

¹ Laud's Works, v. 469.

² Britton, 53.

³ Notes and Queries, 2nd Ser. vi. 477.

sword, given by Edward IV. to the city, was carried before the mayor enveloped in black crape.¹

At Canterbury, the mayor's desk in the choir had gilt iron-work for receiving the sword and mace; and the independence of the Cathedral was acknowledged by the serjeant lowering these civic insignia from his shoulder to his arm on entering the precincts. The sword was not placed erect, as at St. Paul's. At Bristol Bishop Thornborough mortally offended the civic functionaries, who seceded in consequence to St. Mary's, Redcliffe, because he pulled down a gallery which the mayor had built near the pulpit, saying he would not have God's House turned into a playhouse. At Chichester the mayor sits in the nave close to the choir steps, on a line with the præcentor's stall. On June 6, 1635, he was forbidden to have the mace borne before him in the choir.²

At Worcester, in 1635, he sat in a stall next the Bishop or Archdeacon.³ At Gloucester, the wives of the mayor and aldermen had fixed and standing seats.⁴ At St. Paul's the churching of the Judges takes place on the first Sunday afternoon in Easter term. The portrait of Richard II. was, in 1775, removed to the Jerusalem Chamber owing to the injury it received from the wigs of successive Lord Chancellors, who sat in a pew below it.⁵

¹ Britton, 48.

² MS. Harl. 2173, fo. 34 b.

³ Laud's Works, v. 492.

⁴ Ibid. 480.

⁵ Stanley, Mem. 142.

BOY-BISHOP—CHORISTER ACTORS—MASKERS IN CHOIR
—THE MIRACLE PLAY—THE EPIPHANY—THE ASCENSION—CENSERS AT WHITSUNTIDE—ST. PAUL'S,
NORWICH—CLOUDS AT LICHFIELD.

UNTIL recent years the lilliputian effigy of a Bishop at Salisbury was believed to be that of a Boy-Bishop, whose office may be traced in that Cathedral to the year 1319; and at York to 1369, where it was required that the chorister should have served well in the minster and be of suitable comeliness. By Colet's Statutes in 1518, the child-Bishop was yearly to preach in St. Paul's; the curious office may also be traced at Exeter; it began on the eve of Childermas, and lasted till the second vespers of the festival, the boys taking the parts of the chanters and canons, chaplains and cross-bearer, while the residentiaries bore the censers, and the vicars the tapers: and the dean and canons preceded them in procession, from the west door into the choir. In 1378 the choristers of St. Paul's formed a dramatic company, and the 'children of Powles' acted plays even in the time of Queen Elizabeth and James I. after Evensong.¹

At Wells, in 1321, between Christmas and the Octave of Innocents, the deacons, sub-deacons, and even priest-vicars, represented ludicrous plays, and introduced monstrous masks, grimacing even in Divine service, and in Whitsun week laymen performed the same indecencies.² In the twelfth cen-

¹ Collier, *Hist. of the Stage*, i. 17, 137, 281; iii. 377.

² Harl. MS. 1682, 16-21.

tury, at Lichfield, the miracle-plays were represented: the Shepherds on Christmas Eve, the Resurrection at the dawn of Easter, the Miracles on Easter night and the next morning, and the Pilgrims (the Disciples going to Emmaus) on Easter Monday; and at York, the Three Kings at Epiphany, the Apparition of the Star on Christmas Eve, and the Salutation of the Shepherds at Bethlehem. At Chichester, on the Feast of Epiphany, an image of the Holy Ghost was borne in procession round the whole Cathedral by two vicars which was then offered in succession to the various members, beginning with the Dean; and the person who accepted it, gave an ornament to the church. Grostete at Lincoln, forbade the abominable feast of asses on the festival of the Circumcision.¹

At Gloucester there are two circular apertures in the roof through which the monks drew up with wires on Holy Thursday the representation of Our Lord's Ascension into heaven.²

In a MS. inventory of St. Paul's Cathedral I found the following entry: 'A great large censer all silver with many windows and battlements used to cense withal in the Pentecost Week in the body of the Church of Paul's at the procession time Clviiij ounces iii quarters.' I at length found the clue to its use in a passage of Bishop Pilkington: 'In the midst alley was a long censer, reaching from the roof to the ground, as though the Holy Ghost came in there censing down in likeness of a dove.' Lambarde, in his Topographical Dictionary says, 'I myself being a child once saw in Paul's Church at London at a feast

¹ Brown, Fasc. Rer. exp. ii. 33.

² Haines' Gloucester, 68.

of Whitsuntide, where the coming down of the Holy Ghost was set forth by a white pigeon that was let to fly out of a hole that is yet to be seen in the midst of the roof of the great aisle, and by a long censer which, descending out of the same place almost to the very ground, was swung up and down at such a length that it reached at one sweep almost to the west gate of the church, and with the other to the choir stairs of the same, breathing out over the whole church and company a most pleasant perfume of such sweet things as burned therein.'

Exactly in the centre of the nave roof of Norwich is a circular opening, and the Sacrists' Rolls contain an entry for letting a man habited as an angel down from the roof with a thurible to cense the rood.¹ In 1170, at Lichfield, clouds, formed with vast quantities of incense, were made to fill the church with perfume, and probably, as in some places, had lighted tow mingled with them to represent the descent of fiery tongues.

THE UNBURIED AMBASSADOR—A HEADLESS KING—
THE HALF-NAKED KNIGHT—THE RAGGED REGIMENT
—'BLOW BARROW DOWN'—RENTS PAID ON TOMBS—
FLOWERS ON DR. DONNE'S GRAVE.

HUGE masses of statuary still block up the aisles of Westminster; cumbrous tombs fill the niches of St. Paul's, which would be more appropriately arranged along the Thames Embankment, and disfigure many other Cathedrals. It was not until 1812 that 'the two coffins and chests, which were laid open to the

¹ Harrod's Monasteries, 270.

gaze in the first chapel on the right hand in Henry VIIIth's Chapel, Westminster, no longer offended public decorum; one, commonly attributed to a 'Spanish ambassador, was carried back to his native land, in company with the remains of the late Duke of Albuquerque.¹ Another coffin, of red leather, was that of the Conde de Ronquillo, who died in 1691.²

At Westminster, a writer of the time of James I. informs us that 'about the latter end of Henry VIII. the head of Henry V.'s image being of massive silver was broken off and conveyed clean away with the plates of silver and gilt that covered his body.'³ The effigy of Sir John Stanley at Lichfield is naked to the waist and holds a scroll of confession, as it was upon the condition that he, having been excommunicated, should be thus represented that the figure was admitted. At Westminster the waxen 'mensuræ,' or effigies of great personages, were exhibited at 2d. per head as the 'Ragged Regiment,' or 'Play of the dead Volks' (till 1839), upon all holydays, Sundays excepted, between the Sermon and Evening Prayers; and on one occasion, when Dr. Barrow was preaching one of his interminable sermons 'the crowd began to be impatient, and caused the organ to be struck up against him, and would not give over till they had blowed him down.'⁴ When Lord Nelson's funeral car was exhibited at St. Paul's, the rival attraction drew away the sightseers from Westminster.

The Chapter of Norwich formerly received their rents on the tomb of Chancellor Spencer, and the

¹ Gent. Mag. lxxxii. ii. 338.

² Hutton's New View, ii. 514.

³ Howe's Chron. 262-3.

⁴ Pope's Life of Seth Ward, 447.

stone was completely worn by the frequent ringing of the money. The tombs of St. Chad at Lichfield, and Haxby, the Treasurer of York, received money payments limited to be made on them by old leases and settlements. Solemn covenants were contracted upon Teliau's tomb at Llandaff. At Carlisle the same custom was observed at the tomb of Prior Senhouse. They strewed an abundance of curious and costly flowers, morning and evening, many days on Dr. Donne's grave in old St. Paul's.¹ At Dryden's burial in the Abbey rosemary was used; and Shakspeare represents Queen Katharine, who was buried at Peterborough [and her grave probably saved the minster at the Dissolution], desiring maiden flowers 'to be strewn over her when dead.'

FLAGS IN CHAMBER — BANNERS USED AT PETERBOROUGH—BURIAL OF THE BANNERS.

ONE of the Cinque Port banners carried at a coronation was offered at the shrine of Canterbury. In 1485 Henry VII. offered three standards of St. George, the Red Dragon, and Dun Cow, after the battle of Bosworth Field.² Banners were suspended round the shrine of St. Cuthbert. The famous banner of the saint, which was at the winning of Flodden Field and many other battles (1385 and 1401), was carried in great processions,³—

'Where his cathedral huge and vast
Looks down upon the Wear.'

¹ Walton's Lives, 54.

² Stow's Ann. 471.

³ Davies' Rites, 80.

At St. Paul's in September, 1588, twelve standards captured from the ships of the Spanish Armada decorated the choir,¹ after being displayed along the lower battlements during the sermon at the Cross; till within a recent period, when they were removed to Chelsea, flags taken in the wars from the capture of Louisburgh to the victories of Nelson, were suspended round the dome, and the flags of the old county regiments may be now seen at York, Canterbury, Chichester, Exeter, Salisbury, Rochester, and other places. Banners have been used in the procession at 'Choral Festivals' at Peterborough Cathedral since 1860. At an installation of the Knights of the Bath the Dean lays the swords upon the altar, and delivers them to their owners, and the banners of the deceased are laid under it, whilst the band plays the 'Dead March in Saul.'

CARNARY OF RIPON CRYPT—BOOKSELLERS' STORE-ROOM—HENRY THE SECOND'S PENANCE—LOOMS AT CANTERBURY.

THE Carnary in the Crypt of Ripon, with its walls and vaulting encrusted with more than 9,000 bones, was arranged in 1843 out of collections of human remains, at first removed to a space between two buttresses, as fresh interments were made when the cemetery was used by the 'dependent chapelries.' They were buried in 1866. Books were stored in the crypt of St. Faith under St. Paul's. At a still earlier date the bakery and other buildings were

¹ Stow's Ann. 751.

occupied for unworthy purposes. In the undercroft of Canterbury, Henry II. passed a night fasting, after being scourged by every bishop, abbot, and monk present. In 1561 it was occupied by the silk-loomers of the French and Flemish refugees, who used one aisle as a place of worship.

DAILY COMMUNION—INTERVAL BETWEEN SERVICES—
MIDNIGHT SERVICE—HENRY VIII.'S STATUTES EXCUSE
ATTENDANCE AT THEM — EARLY MASS — EARLY
MATINS: EXETER, NORWICH — MORNING PRAYER
CHAPEL: ST. PAUL'S, YORK, LICHFIELD, WORCESTER,
WELLS, DURHAM, LINCOLN, CANTERBURY—SERVICES
IN 1852.

THE daily Communion we find, by a rubric of 1549, was maintained in Cathedrals, but in the Council's Letter of that year an early Communion in the morning was to be permitted at the high altar of St. Paul's, only 'if some number of people desired it for their necessary business.'

Bishop Cosin has recorded the following custom. Speaking of the rubrical notice to be given by persons intending to become communicants, he says, 'Whereupon is necessarily inferred a certain distance of time between Morning Prayer and High Service, which is at this time duly observed in York and Chichester.' This custom continues to linger at Worcester and Winchester on Sundays, and may be traced back to the time of Grindall's Injunctions for York in 1571, in which any intermission in Divine service was forbidden. At Ely Matins are sung at 9, and Litany and Holy Communion at 11.

98 *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.*

If we may believe the coarse-tongued Pilkington, 'in Paul's and abbeys at their midnight prayers were more commonly but a few bawling priests, young choristers, and novices; the elder sort, both in Cathedral churches and abbeys, almost never came at their midnight prayer,—it was thought enough to knoll the bells.'¹ It is certain that a great stress was laid upon attendance at Matins in the ancient statutes, and that it was a special exemption in those of Henry VIII., which excused the members of Cathedrals from coming to the night Hours, so cold had old devotion grown. 'Venite Bread' significantly was given at Chichester.

No church in Bath, in 1411, was allowed to chime for service until the Cathedral had rung its morning bell, or tolled the curfew.

Harding says, 'where great multitude of Christian people is, as in towns, we see some resort to church early in the morning, making their spiritual oblations to the intent to serve God ere they serve men in their worldly affairs. Others come at their convenient opportunity, some at 6, some at 7, some at 8, some at 9 or 10 of the clock. All well-disposed people about Paul's cannot come to Postles' Mass at 4 qr 5 of the clock in the morning.'² The Apostles' Mass was said in the Jesus Chapel in the Shrowds. Pilkington profanely calls it Judas Chapel.³ Cooper says there was Mass in the Lady Chapel at 6, and in Jesus Church at 9;⁴ or, as he also calls it, 'the lowest place of the west end.'⁵

¹ Works, 528.

² Jewel's Works, ii. 630.

³ Works, 541; Strype, i. 392.

⁴ Works, 119.

⁵ Ibid. 21.

The Matins in 1559 succeeded the Apostles' Mass.¹ Sermons were preached in the shrouds or under-croft.

The usual hour of Matin mass, the first said in the day, was 6 A.M. or at 5 A.M., according to the season, at Chichester and Lichfield; and at Durham, in 1567, servants attended in the Cathedral at 6, the ordinary service being at 9;² in the time of Cosin prayers were said at 5 A.M. winter and summer, followed by a second service at 9. At Winchester, the morning service is sung at 8 A.M. on Sundays. In Townsend's *Journal of the Siege of Worcester*, 1646, we have the affecting entry:—July 23. 'This day many gentlemen went to 6 o'clock prayers to the College, to take their last farewell of the Church of England service, the organs having been taken down on the 20th.' At Durham, in 1682, there were prayers at 6 A.M. for servants, except on Sundays and holydays.³ At Chester and Exeter prayers are said in the 'Lady Chapel' at 7 A.M. In Defoe's time 500 people attended the 6 o'clock service, and 'the solemnity, decency, and affecting harmony of the choir service rendered the Cathedral a glory to the diocese, the envy of other choirs, and the admiration of strangers.'⁴ In 1559 the hour was 6 A.M., and a hymn was sung.

At Norwich there were early prayers said at 6 A.M. in summer and at 7 in the winter, 'but of late years' (it is said in 1814), 'they had been discontinued.' The name of the Morning Prayers Chapel still

¹ Machyn, 212.

² Granv. Lett. ii. 163.

³ Camd. MSS. vi. 23.

⁴ Comp. Lyttelton, *Descript.* by S.A. 22.

remains at St. Paul's, Salisbury, and Lincoln; in 1708 they were said in the former Cathedral and at Westminster Abbey at 6 A.M.,¹ and now at 8 A.M.; and still later, in 1730, the members of Christ Church, Oxford, went to Matins at 6 and Litany at 9.² In 1818, at York prayers were said at 6 A.M. in summer and at 7 in winter; formerly they were said in the choir at 6 the whole year round. In 1764 the service had been transferred to a chapel.³ A small bell, 'the silver sound of which could be heard some miles off the city,' and then suspended in a cupola on the 'Lantern Steeple,' bore these allusive lines, engraved in 1592:—

'Surge citò. Propera. Cunctos citat, excitat Hora;

Cur dormis? Vigila: me resonante, leva.'

Hist. of Ch. of York, 40, 33.

At Lichfield, Bishop Hacket's Statutes require an early service for small tradesmen, labourers, and servants in the Lady Chapel. Laud, in 1634, ordered the usual morning prayers at 6 A.M. to be henceforth read or celebrated in our Lady's Chapel at the east end of the Cathedral Church of Worcester.⁴ At Hereford, the hour then was 5 or 6.30, according to the season. At Wells, Mr. Phelps (1839) says 'there is in the Lady Chapel a Communion Table, and seats for the accommodation of a congregation, which formerly assembled at 6 A.M. in summer and at 7 in winter to hear Morning Prayers. This service has been discontinued many years.'⁵ At Durham, Morn-

¹ Hutton's New View, s. v.

² Peck's Desid. Cur. lib. xii. No. 21.

³ Hargrove, 84.

⁴ Works, v. 491.

⁵ Somersetshire, ii. 68.

ing Prayer was said in the song school at 6 A.M., except on Sundays and holydays.¹ At Lincoln, in Hollar's Plan, mention is made of the chapel where Matins are said at 6 A.M., and there prayers were continued down to comparatively recent times, as at Salisbury at 6.30 and 6 at Winchester in the present century. The Collect still retains the significant words, 'the beginning of this day.' Gostling says that in his time early prayers were said in the Chapter-house, and not in the choir of Canterbury, owing to the following circumstance:—Lord Jefferies told one of the Prebendaries that the Presbyterians were about to petition James II. for the use of this noble building as a meeting-house. The Prebendary then made the proposition to convert it to this new purpose. 'That will do,' said the Chancellor, 'have it put to that use immediately, for if the Presbyterians don't get it, perhaps others will whom you may like worse.'²

When the Cathedral Commission in 1852 was appointed, there was only monthly Communion on Sundays at Wells, Carlisle, Chester, Ely (where it was innovation dating seventy years back), Gloucester, Bristol, Hereford, Lincoln, Norwich, Peterborough, Rochester, and St. Asaph, and fortnightly at St. David's. This was a great falling off, for, in 1684, Durham and Gloucester, with other Cathedrals in the Province of Canterbury, had revived the weekly celebration.³ At Carlisle, within a short time previous, a lecturer, never contemplated by the statutes, preached for the Dean and Canons: at Ely

¹ Rites, 72.² Ibid. 177.³ Dean Granville's Letters, 124-5, 132.

the precentor similarly 'guarded' the pulpit when required, and two Minor Canons could not sing; at Manchester the service was 'read;' at Norwich the Evensong was a service in the choir, 'partly choral, partly parochial' (!) for three winter months at 2.30 P.M., and during the rest of the year the choral service was resumed, and the parish service said in St. Luke's Church. At Ripon, as now, there was no choir on Wednesday or Friday; at St. Asaph there were two week-day choral services; at Llandaff, none; at St. David's the Saturday evening service was choral. Still there was life in the old Cathedrals: in some the weekly Communion was maintained; at Salisbury, except on one Sunday in the month and on great festivals, there was early celebration at 8 A.M.; at Ripon, on Easter Day at 5 A.M.; at Exeter, Matins were said daily at 7, and at Chester, except in winter, when the hour was 7.30; at Gloucester, during seven months, at 7.15; at Hereford, on festivals; and at Oxford, always at 8: whilst at Norwich, from 1831 to 1843, the attempt was made to have an additional sermon, at Rochester the choir was silent on Litany days in Lent; and at Worcester, Matins on Sunday were said at 8.15 in summer, and at 8.30 in winter.

REVERENCE TO THE ALTAR—TURNING TO THE EAST
AT CARLISLE AND MANCHESTER.

LAUD, at Canterbury, in his revised Statutes, c. xxxiv., required that every member of whatsoever degree or rank should, when they enter the choir, adore the Divine majesty with a devout heart, and

make a lowly reverence towards the altar, as is prescribed in the ancient statutes of certain churches, and then turn to the Dean and do the like, and also bow the knee in crossing the choir. A trace of the former custom still lingers at Christ Church, Oxford, St. George's, Windsor, and was observed until very recent times also at Durham; but, that it was once an ordinary custom, we gather from the exceptions of the Committee of the House of Lords, where an objection is raised to 'bowing towards the altar or towards the east many times with three *congés*, but usually in every motion in access or recess in the Church.'¹

At Worcester, 1635, Dean Mainwaring ordered the King's scholars, who used formerly to throng tumultuously into the choir, to go in rank two and two and make their due obeisance, at their coming in.²

On a Sunday, 1641, after the sermon was ended, the Canon went before, the Petty Canon behind him, and the vergers before both, 'all three ducking, ducking, ducking as they went from their seats to the quire up to the high altar, where the priests stood till the organs and choir had ceased, and then the priest began to read the afternoon service at Canterbury.'³

At Gloucester, Winchester, Hereford, and in other Cathedrals, Laud ordered it to be observed,⁴ and it is said to have been made in the present century at Exeter.⁵

¹ Cardw. Conf. 273.

² Neal, History of Puritans, ii. 292.

³ Cathedral News, 18; quoted in Hierurgia Anglicana.

⁴ Cypr. Angl. 291-3; Laud's Works, v. 478; Canterb. Dom. 75, 79, 80.

⁵ Hierurg. Angl. 366 n.

A reverence towards the east (in conformity with the Canons of 1640), was still retained in most of the Cathedrals, and when the reader went to the lectern he made an obeisance to the altar in one of the greatest of these churches in 1748,¹ and a 'similar bowing towards the stalls' prevailed. In earlier times the clerks in choir only rose when the Dean entered or left;² 'lowly reverence in bowing the head at entrance into the most solemn place of God's worship, the quire,' was practised in Cathedrals in 1682.³

In the dedication to the Life of Ambrose Barnes, who lived in the seventeenth century, we have the following allusion to the custom of the period: 'What mean these alterations of the Communion tables into stone altars? What mean these rich altar cloths with these Jesuits' cypher embosst upon them? some of our altar pieces are contrived with carved work resembling the lighted tapers of a mass-board' p. 8; and a writer in 1687 says: 'I went diligently to the public worship, especially to the Cathedral of Carlisle, where in time of public prayer we used all, male and female, as soon as that creed called the Apostles' Creed began to be said, to turn our faces towards the east, and when the name of Jesus was mentioned we all as one bowed and kneeled towards the altar-table as they call it, wherè stood a couple of Common Prayer books in folio, one at each side of the table, and over them, painted upon the wall, IHS, signifying

¹ Gent. Mag. xviii. 511.

² Monasticon, ii. 534.

³ Granville's Letters, ii. 96.

Jesus.¹ In Manchester Cathedral, at the singing of the Gloria Patri, the whole choir turns round and stands towards the east, as was the custom at Lincoln in 1440.

LIGHTS: YORK, BRANCHES—CANTERBURY, DURHAM—
CANDLEMAS.

IN these days, when gas is employed to light Cathedrals and even ingeniously arranged to follow the architectural lines and heighten the interior effect on certain occasions, as at St. Paul's Cathedral at the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, we are likely to let the tradition of former lighting pass out of mind, and what were these jets to the 1400 serges carried at the funeral of Henry V. at Westminster?² The ancient Statutes are very stringent and precise in laying down the number, size, and weight of the tapers, torches, wax serges and candles employed in Divine worship. After the Reformation, when no part of the service was any longer said by rote, not only the bishop's throne had its two candles, but similar conveniences were added along the stalls; and in the seventeenth century pendant branches, of which a specimen remains at Chichester, supplied the want which had ensued by the wholesale destruction of the glorious chandeliers and crowns of former times. At York, about a century since, 'in winter, from All Saints to Candlemas, the choir was illuminated at evening service by seven large branches, beside a small wax

¹ Story's Journal, 4.

² Dart, ii. 37.

candle fixed at every other stall. Three of these branches were the gifts of 'Sir Arthur Ingram, anno 1638,' as appears by an inscription on each; he also settled 4*l.* per annum on the church for finding them with lights. 'These, with two large tapers for the altar, are all the lights commonly made use of; but on the vigils of certain holydays the four grand dignitaries of the Church had in 1818 each a branch of seven candles placed before them at their stalls.'¹

In 1748, Mr. John Allen left 200*l.* to the Dean and Chapter for providing more lights for the winter service: two brass sconces of twenty-four lights each, c. 1726, hung in the choir of Canterbury.² Bishop Cosin (who celebrated in a plain white satin cope only, without any embroidery, at the west side of the altar, turning his back to the people) being bitterly and basely maligned by Peter Smart, was compelled to explain that 'in winter time upon the Communion Table were never set more than two fair candles, with a few small sizes near to them, which they put there of purpose that the people all about might have the better use of them for singing the Psalms and reading the Lessons out of the Bible, but 200 was a greater number than they used in all the church, either upon Candlemas night or any other.'³ Dr. Donne, in a sermon at St. Paul's, says, 'Your custom celebrates Candlemas with many lights.' Cosin did not deny the article which charged him with allowing 'the company of boys to come in with lighted torches in their hands at the choir door, bowing

¹ Hargrove, 85; Hist. of York, 47.

² Gostling, 261.

³ Cosin's Works, lxxviii.

towards the altar at their first entrance, bowing thrice before they lighted their tapers, and withdraw, bowing so oft towards the altar, the organ all the time going.'

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS USED IN CHOIRS—MUSICAL FESTIVALS—MINSTRELS' GALLERY—MEETINGS OF CHOIRS—AN ABBEY REMOVED ON ACCOUNT OF ITS ORGAN—PURPLE GOWNS OF CHORISTERS—CHOIR SERVICE IN JEOPARDY—PLACE OF ORGAN—ORGANS RESTORED—BEAUTIES OF THE SERVICE AT SALISBURY.

IN the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 'in Cathedrals the hymns were sung in a more awakening and improved manner, and, to make the performance further entertaining and solemn, organs and other instruments of music were made use of.'¹ Viols were employed at Exeter, musical instruments at Lincoln in 1631,² and the lyre and harp at Hereford; cornets and sackbuts were played in Worcester at the reception of Elizabeth, August 13, 1575. In 1667 cornets were used at Westminster. At Durham and York, when Lord Guildford visited those minsters, 'wind music in the choir' was only recently disused; Lord Keeper Guildford 'being well known in all the choirs wherever he came, the boys failed not to bring him a fair book of the anthem and service, and sometimes the score if they had it, expecting, as they always had, a compensation for their pains.'³ At Exeter he observed that 'the two side columns that carried the

¹ Collier, *Ecc. Hist.* vi. 246.

² See my article on Cathedrals prior to the Civil Wars, in the *Gent. Mag.* for 1848, 480.

³ *Lives of the Norths*, i. 279.

tower were lined with organ pipes, and were as columns themselves.¹ At Canterbury, among the members of the foundation, Laud appointed, in 1636, two sackbutteers and two corneteers.² Organs and violins are mentioned at St. Paul's, in a coarsely irreverent work.³ P. Smart complained of pipers at Durham during the Holy Communion.⁴ On November 12, 1702, and in 1700, the *Te Deum* was sung in this Cathedral with vocal and instrumental music,⁵ and at the Feast of the Sons of the Clergy, December 8, 1720.⁶ On August 6, 1788, a full band of music played at the service in Worcester Cathedral.⁷ Drums and trumpets are still used on rare occasions at St. Paul's and Westminster, and recently in the Abbey, Bach's *Passion-musik* was performed with a full orchestra as a kind of anthem; but the divorce of a modest instrumental accompaniment from the actual services, and the conversion of a Cathedral into a music-hall with its attendant indecencies, began in a slothful and indifferent age, in the so-called festival of the Three Choirs. It is to be hoped that this unsuitable means of raising money may shortly be as much of the past as those in vogue at York, Chester, and Westminster, happily long since defunct; and that it will be found that the noblest, most perfect, and becoming instrument in the House of God is the unrivalled organ. At Westminster, on

¹ *Lives of the Norths*, i. 246.

² *Works*, v. 507.

³ *Hickeringill's Ceremony Monger*, ii. 405.

⁴ *Catal. of Superst. Innov.* 26.

⁵ *Dugdale's St. Paul's*, Ed. Ellis, 441-447.

⁶ *Burney's Hist. of Music*, iv. 246.

⁷ *Green's Worc.* i. 299.

the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, Tallis's service is magnificently sung every year. The late Præcentor Hutchinson, of Lichfield, first introduced the Diocesan meetings of parish choirs in a Cathedral in 1856. In England, as now on the Continent, the organ, it must be remembered, was used only on festivals, as we learn from the Nonne's Priest's Tale of Chaucer :

His vois was merrier than the mery *Orgon*
On *Massie Dayes* that in the churches gon.

At Winchester an abbey was removed from the neighbourhood to the Cathedral owing to the jarring of the voices of the choir.¹ At Norwich the choristers wear surplices only on Sundays, holydays, and eves, and at other times wear purple gowns, and sit in the organ loft.

At York, in the wooden reredos, there were two doors which opened into a vestry where the Archbishops used to robe themselves at their enthronisation, and afterwards proceeded to the high altar, where they were invested with the pall. Above the screen was a gallery for musicians who played during the celebration of high mass.² At Chichester there was a similar arrangement.³ In the Synod of Westminster, 1563, the motion to remove 'strains of skill, musical performances, and playing on organs' out of Cathedrals was lost in the Lower House of Convocation by one vote only.⁴ Owing to the want of 'able ministers' in the reign of Elizabeth, it was, in 1584,

¹ W. Malm. 173.

² Hargrove, 81.

³ Hist. of Ch. of York, 45.

⁴ Collier, vi. 362.


seriously proposed to Parliament 'that every Dean and Chapter of every Cathedral and collegiate church that did pay yearly wages to singing men and choristers and musicians in their churches, should pay the same in yearly pensions to such pastors as were resident on their benefices which should be found to want sufficient sustentation of living.'¹ Yet in 1559 the royal Injunctions commanded that 'no alterations be made of such assignments of living as heretofore hath been appointed to the use of singing or music in the church, but that the same do remain.'² Fuller says it was reported of the Puritan bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Barnabas Potter, that 'organs would blow him out of the church.' There appears to have been great laxity in the choirmen who, at Canterbury, absented themselves 'every third week,' and at Chichester were required to 'carry themselves in a respectful manner to the residentiaries,' who were reminded to maintain 'the meetings and hospitable invitations kept quarterly for the choir,' or give in lieu 'money by way of perdition' and as a 'benevolence.'³ The tribune of Winchester, the galleries with book-stands over the chapels in the Lady Chapel of Gloucester, and the galleries in the nave of Wells and Exeter, served for the minstrels; and in the latter Cathedral, until recently, at 7 A.M. on Christmas Day, the choir sang to the organ the Old Hundreth Psalm, with a beautiful effect in the solemn dimness of the church at that hour. The galleries over the west

¹ Strype's Ann. III. i. 320; App. xxxix.: comp. I. i. 269, 537; and Hooper's Works, ii. 151; and I. xvii-xix.

² Cardw. Doc. Ann. l. 229.

³ Laud's Works, v. 455, 486.

doors of Winchester, Chichester, and other Cathedrals, were used by the choir in singing the 'Gloria, Laus et Honor,' as the procession of Palm Sunday entered in. The organ was erected in 1783 over the choir screen at Canterbury. Laud recommended the fusion of the two pair of organs at Lichfield into a single 'chair organ.' Charles I., who contributed 1,000*l.* to one at York, as George III. did 'as a Berkshire gentleman' to that of Salisbury, stipulated that it should be removed from the screen.¹ The organ stood on the north side of the choir at Canterbury in the twelfth century, and still later at Winchester, Worcester, Chester, St. Paul's, Lincoln, and Westminster. At Hereford and Canterbury it is now on the south side. It sometimes stood in the rood loft both before and after the Reformation, and is still an unsightly object at Lincoln, Norwich, and some other churches. The organ is not used during Holy Week at Chichester until the Evening Service on Easter Even. The organ was silenced where it had not been destroyed during the Usurpation; and it is curious to read this entry in the diary of a man of middle age, November 4, 1660: 'To the Abbey, where the first time that ever I heard the organs in a Cathedral.'² On one of the pinnacles of the organ case at Bristol, a robin took up its abode in 1773, and was regularly fed with crumbs by the sexton till its death in 1787. The Cathedral service was soon restored in all its beauty, for Pope, in his *Life of Seth Ward*, mentions the celebration of Divine service at Salisbury, 'with exemplary piety, admirable decency,

¹ Hargrove, i. 78.² Pepys' Diary, i. 150.

and celestial music;’ just a century before, George Herbert used to go twice a week to the Cathedral, where the music, he said, ‘elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth.’

THE LECTERN—DOUBLE CHANT—HARMONISED CONFESSION—SERVICES—VOLUNTARY, ANTHEM.

DR. JEBB, in his ‘Choral Service,’ has given many interesting particulars with regard to the musical history of our Cathedrals. He mentions that the Prayers were not sung at Chester, and the Dean and Canons read the lessons, a duty performed at Westminster by the Minor Canons. Since the restoration of the lectern in most of the choirs, the Lessons are read from it, as at Chichester, St. Paul’s, Hereford, Chester, York, Lichfield, Ely, Norwich, Westminster, Salisbury, Exeter, Peterborough, Gloucester, and other churches; and at Canterbury, on Sundays and festivals, called locally *Precum Days*, by the Canons; there on week-days from the stalls the First Lesson is read by a Minor Canon, and the Second by the Dean or Vice-Dean. At Bristol and Winchester, and in most Cathedrals, the lectern at the east end of the choir faces westward; at Peterborough the position is reversed; at Chichester and Hereford it stands before the choir-step. At Durham the Holy Bible is brought by a vergers to the reader in his stall. At Lichfield the Dean reads from his stall, and in many Cathedrals this is the rule on week-days; the lectern, as at Rochester and Carlisle, being used only on Sunday; at Ely the choir lectern is used on week-

days, and that in the octagon on Sundays. At Wells the residentiary is the reader; usually the Dean reads the Second Lesson. At York and Lichfield, by old statute, the Dean read from his stall.¹

It is not many years since that the choral service was not sung by the Priest Vicars at Salisbury. The varieties in the services with regard to cadences, raising or lowering the note, and the use of a varied melody, have been fully given by Dr. Jebb; and it only remains to add, that at Ely a Confession with harmonized inflexions was introduced by the organist, Mr. Robert Janes, in 1831. The Double Chant took its origin in a mistake by the assistant organist of Gloucester, about the beginning of the last century.

The Committee appointed by the House of Lords (1643) acquaint us, in one of their captious exceptions with the first notice of what are technically called Services, alleging it to be an innovation in discipline, the 'singing the Te Deum in prose after a Cathedral church way in divers parochial churches, where the people have no skill in such music;' ² whilst they recommend that 'the musick used in God's holy service in Cathedral and collegiate churches be framed with less curiosity, that it may be more edifying and more intelligible, and that no hymns or anthems be used where ditties are framed by private persons, but such as are contained in the sacred canonical Scriptures, or in our Liturgy of prayers, or have publick allowance.'³

¹ Monast. vi. 1200, 1267; Dugdale's St. Paul's, 258; App. to 1st Rep. Cath. Comm. 28.

² Cardw. Conf. 273.

³ Ibid. 274.

In some places, as at York and Lichfield (and at St. Paul's in Clifford's time),¹ a voluntary is played after the Psalms, possibly in lieu of the Paternoster and Credo, said privately at this part of the service by the Salisbury use. It is, if brief, a most convenient arrangement, in order to allow the reader time after the conclusion of the Gloria Patri to proceed to the lectern.

According to Mace, a metrical Psalm, instead of an anthem, was sung at York in the time of Charles I., in harmony with the Elizabethan advertisements. He tells the story of a Dean who could sing common services and anthems, once rebuking a choirman who had sung very badly, and the answer of the furious clerk, 'Sir, except ye mend my wages, I am resolved never to sing better whilst I live.'² On Litany days the anthem is omitted at St. Paul's and Westminster, and in the latter church and at Wells, on Sundays, is postponed after the sermon: at Chester on certain days it was not used;³ nor at York in the afternoon of Sundays in Lent in 1818.⁴ At Christ Church, Oxford, the suffrages for the Queen are sung after the anthem. At Norwich one of the choristers, as a supernumerary clerk, in 1827, read the First Lesson,⁵ whilst at Hereford the choir of Hereford had 'this peculiar quality, that the services and anthems were sung exclusively by Priest Vicars,' and only recently at that time 'many excellent choirs had transferred these songs of Sion to the hands of lay-

¹ Jebb, 317.² Musick's Mon. 27.³ Jebb, 382, 371, 411.⁴ Hargrove, 84.⁵ Hacket's Cath. Schools, *41.

men.' To each of the five Canons, a chorister was allotted to attend upon him in Cathedral during his residence and times of preaching.¹

THE LITANY—LITANY DESK—CANTOR'S SEATS—
YORK USE.

At the reopening of Chichester Cathedral the Litany was sung at the entrance of the choir by two Priest Vicars; but the rule is to chant from the stalls. At St. Paul's it is sung from the end stalls; at Canterbury, York, Lincoln, and Oxford, in the midst of the choir; at Lichfield, and on great occasions at Ely, in the nave; at Hereford, Canterbury, Norwich, and Exeter (as before 1741), and Gloucester, at a Litany desk. Two Priest Vicars at Hereford, two Minor Canons at Durham and St. Paul's, two lay Vicars at Lincoln, on the spot where an inscription 'Cantate hic' marks the place once occupied by rulers of the choir, and a Priest and a Vicar at Lichfield and Exeter, sing it. At Lichfield, Hacket's Statutes allow two lay Vicars to sing it at the faldstool up to the Lord's Prayer.²

At Winchester on Sundays the Litany precedes the Holy Communion at 10 and at Ely at 11 A.M., forming a distinct service, as formerly at Canterbury in 1560, when 'Matins were to be done by 8 A.M., and the Litany sung at a later hour.'³ There is a Litany of modern use peculiar to York. On Sept. 18, 1547,

¹ Hacket's Cath. Schools, 34—5.

² App. to 1st Rep. Cath. Comm. 28.

³ Strype's Parker, ii. ch. 2.

the Litany was first sung in the English tongue in St. Paul's, between the choir and the high altar, the singers kneeling half on one side and half on the other.¹ At Ripon the service is not sung on Litany days.

NICENE CREED—ANECDOTES OF ARCHBISHOP SUTTON AND MASON—CUSTOM OF NORWICH—REVERENCE AT MENTION OF THE INCARNATION—GOSPEL AND EPISTLE SUNG—WEEKLY EARLY AND CHORAL CELEBRATIONS—VOLUNTARY INSTEAD OF THE AGNUS DEI—HYMN BEFORE SERMON—COMMUNION OFFICE—LENGTH OF CATHEDRAL SERVICE.

At Westminster and St. Paul's, the Canon, after intoning the Nicene Creed, went to the pulpit at once if he was also the preacher. At Canterbury it was the custom for the Dean and Canons to wait on the Primate in his throne in order to conduct him to the pulpit before the Creed was finished. Archbishop Manners-Sutton was the first to mark his disapprobation of this bad custom, by resolutely keeping his place until the Amen was concluded. Mason, the friend of Gray, when præcentor of York, had a theory that Creeds ought not to be sung, and he stopped the chanting of this Creed.

In 1812, it is said at Norwich, 'the Nicene Creed is chanted, not sung, contrary to the practice which obtains in every other Cathedral;' after the Gospel is finished, 'instead of a single note on the choir organ merely to give the choir a certain pitch, comes a

¹ Heylin, *Hist. of Reform.* 42.

terrific blast of three octaves on the full organ, and off start the boys.¹

Cardinal Pole, in 1556, ordered veiling of bonnets and bending knees in Hereford Cathedral, when the words were sung, *Et Incarnatus ex Spiritu*, and *Et Homo factus est*. Men sat covered in Cathedrals until Laud forbade the custom, and a picture of Bishop Cox's funeral in 1581 showed the large congregation sitting in the choir of Ely, to hear the sermon, 'having their bonets on.'² The homily on 'The Time and Place of Prayer,' was in error about the cessation of a musical service, at least 'in choirs and places where they sing,' as the Lessons, Gospel, and Epistle were still sung to a plain tune.

The weekly Communion was restored, first at York, Exeter, and Canterbury, and a choral celebration at Ely and York. Dr. Jebb, in 1843, says, 'The choral accompaniments had ceased in all but a few churches, as Durham, Exeter, and Worcester.' Early celebrations have been revived at Wells and Chichester, in term-time of the Theological College; at Chester, on the great festivals and Sundays, except the first in the month; at Salisbury, weekly; at Peterborough, on Saints'-days; and York, on the first Sunday in the month and Saints'-days; at Durham, on the second Sunday in the month; at St. Paul's, weekly, and on festivals; at Lichfield and Hereford, in the Lady Chapel; at Norwich, where there are two celebrations; at Gloucester on special, and at Canterbury on very rare occasions. Two early celebrations were in

¹ Gent. Mag. lxxxii. p. 222.

² Peck's Desid. Cur. ii. 574.

use on Easter Day at Ripon in 1852, at 5 and 7 A.M.¹ There is choral Communion at Chichester on the greater festivals; at Chester, occasionally; at Exeter, on high festivals and the first Sunday in the month; at Hereford, on the four great festivals; at Peterborough, on those days, and at Ordinations, Visitations, and the installation of a Bishop; at York, on the second Sunday in the month and great festivals; at Salisbury, at large diocesan meetings; at Worcester on all days having a Proper Preface; at Durham, once a month; and at Ely, on every Sunday. At Ripon and elsewhere a voluntary is sometimes played before and after the service. The incongruity of singing the *Sanctus* as an introit was introduced at the Restoration. At Canterbury, on the three great feasts, the *Gloria in Excelsis* is sung to the St. Mark's phrases. At Durham a soft voluntary is played during the communion of the people in place of the *Agnus Dei*.

Duke Cosmo III. mentions a hymn sung before the sermon at Exeter. The 'singing of a common psalm after sermons' took its origin at St. Paul's, Bishop Hacket informs us, and was observed 'in Westminster Abbey from Bishop Andrewes' to Bishop Williams' time,² and in the opening of the Convocation of 1562 in St. Paul's. In 1644, during the siege of York for eleven weeks, when the enemy planted their guns against the church in prayer time, so that 'cannon bullets came in and bounced from pillar to pillar,' according to 'a custom not in any other

¹ Cath. Com. Rep. 333.

² Life of Hacket, edited by me, 128, notes.

Cathedral,' 'before the sermon the whole congregation of the besieged Royalists sang a psalm together, with the quire and organ' 'thundering in so as to make the very ground shake under them.'¹ Cosin, however, mentions at Durham congregational singing of Psalms. Probably such additions contributed to the fact recorded by Bishop Hacket in his sermon on Church festivals, that 'people of purpose declined Cathedral churches, and never came at them, because Divine service is there continued an hour longer at least than in parochial congregations.'² At Westminster, the service in Strype's time lasted on Sundays from 8 to 11, and on weekdays from 9 until near that hour, which it reached on Litany and holydays. In the afternoon it lasted from 4 till 5, or after.³

COSMO III. AT EXETER—BISHOP SPARROW AND HIS
LITTLE FAMILY—CANONS' HABITS AT SALISBURY—
GREY AMESS—THE SCARF—COPEs AT DURHAM, AT
NORWICH AND WESTMINSTER,—PETER MARTYR'S
CONSCIENCE—ALBS AT CHESTER—CANONICALS WORN
IN GOING TO CATHEDRAL—COPEs ENJOINED BY THE
CANONS—DEACON AND SUBDEACON.

CAPS were worn in choir at Canterbury and Ely.⁴ When Cosmo III., Grand-Duke of Tuscany, visited Exeter Cathedral in 1669, he saw Dr. Sparrow, the bishop, 'con cotta sopra la veste talare nera e mantelletta dell' istesso colore, portando in testa un berra-

¹ Mace, Musick's Mon. 19.

² Annals, II. b. ii. App. x.

³ Plume's Century, 707.

⁴ Bentham, ii. Notes, 79.

tino di raso nero simile al camauro pontificio;’ and what surprised him yet more below the throne (as now at Carlisle) was a family pew: ‘nel piano della chiesa in un recinto di legno stava la moglie del vescovo e le di lui figliolule che si numeravano fino a nove.’ The Canons wore, he says, ‘abito canoniale di botta e manteletta di seta nera diversa però di figura da quella del vescovo,’ being narrower both before and behind. He says the music was reckoned amongst the best in the kingdom, owing to the good stipends, and compares the chanting of the Psalms to the Gregorian use, adding that they were accompanied by the organ;¹ at Salisbury, he says, merging the hood and scarf into one, the Canons wore ‘un capuccio nero di seta che dal collo per la parte di inanzi ha attaccatta due lunghe falde e di dietro casca come una mezza pianeta;’² he calls the Dean’s hood ‘cappuccio ossia mozzetta.’ The real choral habit by statute is a black cope, with the almuce³ over the surplice or rochet. The hood was abandoned at St. Paul’s, Nov. 1, 1562,⁴ but, nevertheless, the ‘graius amictus’ was surrendered by the Canons of 1571 as tainted with superstition,⁵ and, as appears by a paper in the ‘Spectator,’ No. 21, A.D. 1711, the scarf was in use by Prebendaries as their special ornament in the beginning of the eighteenth century, having been the lining of the almuce or amess.

¹ Grenville, Lib. MS. Cosmo III. Viaggio, fo. 42. ² Fo. 70.

³ Stow’s Ann., 605.

⁴ Almuces, ‘amicis’, are an ornament having authority of Parliament, 24 Hen. VIII. c. 13. sec 2, 7. See also miniatures in the St. Alban’s Book of Life, Brit. Mus., and the engraving in my Memor. of Chichester, p. 40.

⁵ Wilkins, iv. 264.

The surplice had once been in like ill-report, and discarded by Peter Martyr, ingenious rather than ingenuous, who said that when he was a Canon of Christ Church he never wore the surplice in the choir, because he should have confirmed that of which his conscience approved not of.¹ At Durham, a traveller says, in 1771, 'they showed us the old vestments of the clergy, which on Sundays and other holydays they put on still (1738); they are so rich with embroidery and embossed work of silver, that indeed it was a kind of load to stand under them. Here they have excellent music.'² In 1634 they were 'of several works of crimson satin, embroidered with embossed work of silver, beset all over with cherubim curiously wrought to life; a black cope, wrought with gold, with divers images in colours; four other rich copes, and vestments: the richest of all they gave to the king in his progress.'

According to a writer in the 'Quarterly Review,' xxxii. 273, the abandonment of copes is referred to Warburton, at Durham (prebendary till 1779), who found the stiff high collar ruffle his great full-bottomed wig, till one day he threw off the cope, saying he would never wear it again, and he never did; and the other residentiaries soon afterwards left off their own also. In 1804 they are said to have been worn at the altar there on festivals and principal days.³ Bishop Cosin wore one of plain white satin only, without any embroidery.⁴ Another con-

¹ Strype, Ann. I. i. 257; comp. 537, and Life of Parker, App. liv., lxiv.

² Defoe, iii. 155. ³ Gent. Mag. lxxiv. i. 232. ⁴ Works i. lxxvii.

sequence of wearing the wig was that the surplice, hitherto sewn up and put over the head, was made open in front and untidy. A cope at Norwich was given at the Restoration,¹ which is probably the date of those at Westminster Abbey; for those of cloth of silver and tissue were sold May 31, 1643.² The cranes for hanging them remained in the old vestry in Dart's time, and cope forcers are in an aisle at York. In 1621 the quiremen wore copes at Westminster on special occasions.³ Copes are still preserved at Salisbury, Carlisle, Ely, and Westminster.⁴ At Canterbury, till Cranmer's time, every Bishop had to present a cope of profession at his consecration; their use recently was revived by the Bishops of London, Ripon, and Lincoln, and the Dean of Ripon. In 1661, all the members of the Cathedral of Chester, habited in their albs, received benediction from the Bishop in the nave; and, after singing *Te Deum*, conveyed him in procession to his throne.⁵ The porter was, by statute, also the barber of the Close, but the custom began to die out in the time of Laud.⁶

The use of canonicals in going to and from service remains in force at Durham, Lichfield, Ely, Gloucester, Carlisle, Wells, Canterbury, Chester, Worcester, and Westminster. At Chichester on ordinary days the gown is worn; and on Sundays with a cassock, the Dean, as at Peterborough, alone wearing his surplice, scarf, and hood. The verger precedes

¹ Bloisfield's Norfolk, iv. 6.

² Stanley's Memor. 430.

³ Kannel's Register, i. 537.

⁴ Widmore, 155.

⁵ Sacred Archæology, s. v.

⁶ Works, ii. 455.

both the Dean and residentiary to church. The cap is still carried in Cathedrals at all times when the Canon or other member is in his choir habit. Square caps were ordered to be worn at Canterbury by Laud,¹ and the cope and hood by the Canons of 1603, the former being enjoined, for the principal minister, Gospeller, and Epistolar; the latter are called in the Rochester Statutes, deacon and subdeacon. At Durham the master and scholars of the King's school come to Cathedral in surplices. There are always three vestries: one for the Dean and Chapter, etc., a second for Priest Vicars or Minor Canons, and the third for lay clerks and choristers. At Canterbury the Library forms a vestry. In many Cathedrals the Priest Vicars or Minor Canons, when robed, come into the first vestry before the procession is formed.

TRACES OF BASILICAN USE AT CANTERBURY—POSITION OF THE CELEBRANT—THE PATRIARCHAL CHAIR BEHIND THE ALTAR; AND AT NORWICH—BISHOP'S THRONE AT CHESTER THE BASEMENT OF A SHRINE — LEOFRIC'S ENTHRONISATION BY A KING AND QUEEN — THE PONTIFICAL CHAIR—SEATS OF THE CELEBRANT AND MINISTERS—THRONE—COLLATERAL SEATS FOR CHAPLAINS—THE THRONE OCCUPIED BY LAY PERSONS—A DESERTED CHOIR.

An interesting relic of the old basilican form and use lingered at Canterbury in 1564; the holy table was set east and west at the time of celebration, and

¹ Works, v. 456.

the priest who ministered, with the Epistolar and Gospeller, at that time wearing copes: but when there was no Communion, the minister, using a surplice only, stood on the east side of the table (standing north and south) with his face towards the people.¹ Bede records an altar of St. Gregory almost in the midst of the north 'Porticus,' which, Thorn adds, stood on the site of the Lady Chapel.² It is not improbable, that the position of two Priests at the altar, 'the one at the one end and the other at the other, representing the two Cherubim at the mercy-seat,³ may be a trace of the old arrangement of the 'ministers,' as in the Ambrosian rite, the celebrant standing in the midst.

According to Ædmer, 'at the western part,' of Canterbury 'there was an altar consecrated to the Virgin: at this altar of our Lady, when the priest celebrated the Divine Mystery, he had his face to the east turned towards the people who stood below. Behind him to the west was the pontifical chair removed from the Lord's Table, being near the church wall'⁴ At the close of the last century (1796), Gostling mentions the patriarchal chair as still standing between the altar and chapel of the Holy Trinity, and upon the same level with that, raised above the pavement of the altar by several steps (p. 240). In allusion to this position, Gervase says: 'above the low wall, in the presbytery in the circuit,'

¹ Strype's Parker, i. 365.

² Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. iii.; Thorn, col. 1765.

³ Andrewes, Minor Works, 150.

⁴ Twysden, Decem Scriptores, 1292.

behind and opposite to the altar, was the patriarchal seat, formed out of a single stone, on which, according to the custom of the Church on high festivals, the Archbishops were wont to sit during the solemnities of the mass until the consecration of the Sacrament; they then descended to the altar of Christ by eight steps.¹ At Norwich, the central arch in the apse had a stone chair for the Bishop, above the rest, ascended by steps at the back of the altar, and the large arch and the basement of the throne are still to be seen in the processional path: the Bishop being as much elevated when he occupied it as his brother of Durham was, seated on the tomb of Hatfield, in that glorious church. At Chester he sits upon the shrine of St. Werburgh.

At Exeter Bishop Leofric was installed in his pontifical chair by the King and Queen.² At Peterborough the Bishop's chair or sedes, used by him in his pontifical acts, was of stone, but in its proper position on the north side of the altar. Except at Ely and Durham and Carlisle, where he occupies the abbot's stall, the throne—that is, his cathedra of dignity, in his capacity as head of the Cathedral—is on the south side of the choir, between the stalls and the presbytery. At St. David's and Hereford there are collateral seats for his chaplains. The south side was chosen as the more honourable side, doubtless as being on the right of the altar in facing the east, and occupied also by the celebrant, who, when he was removed from the east

¹ Gervase, in *Decem Script.* 1294-6; and Somner, *App.* 441.

² *Monasticon*, ii. 256.

side of the altar, followed the course of the sun as in processions. It is a noticeable fact that Exeter, Durham, and St. David's, in the old Cathedrals before the Reformation, alone have structural seats in this position; therefore, the north side of the altar was given up to the Bishop's 'see,' where he had ample room for changing his habit and attendance by his ministers; it was on the south in Stigand's episcopate at Winchester.¹ The throne of Exeter was taken down and concealed in the Great Rebellion, and after the Restoration was replaced. The ancient chair of oak of the thirteenth century still remains at Hereford. Lay persons of royal rank were accommodated in the choir. Henry VII. occupied the Dean's seat at York.²

At Chichester, on Feb. 7, 1679, the Duke of Monmouth was welcomed by 'the great men of the Cathedral, with bells and bonfires.' Dr. Edes (the præcentor) the next day conducted him to the church from the cloister into the choir. He was ushered into the Dean's seat with a voluntary upon the organ. Before sermon a part of the first Psalm was ordered to be sung.³ On Sept. 10, 1682, the Duke of Monmouth, 'the Protestant duke,' was conducted to and from the Cathedral by the mayor and corporation, and Dr. Fogg preached a political sermon.⁴ On Friday, June 2, 1690, William III. attended service at Chester, seated in the Bishop's throne;⁵ and previously at Exeter, where the Canons

¹ Ang. Sac. i. 294.

² Leland, Coll. iv. 191.

³ Sussex Arch. Coll. vii. 167. ⁴ Cuitt's Chester, 319.

⁵ Hemingway, ii. 244.

did not choose to appear in their stalls—but some of the choristers and prebendaries attended—William repaired in military state to the Cathedral. He mounted the Bishop's seat; Burnet stood below: the singers, robed in white, sang the *Te Deum*. When the chant was over, Burnet read the Prince's declaration; but as soon as the first words were uttered, prebendaries and singers crowded in all haste out of the choir.¹ At Westminster, when the Dean read King James the Second's declaration, all the congregation left the church, except a few prebendaries, the choristers, and Westminster boys.²

GOSPEL-DESKS: CANTERBURY AND ST. DAVID'S—GOSPELLER AND EPISTOLAR—ST. ETHELWOOD'S PIETY—CATHEDRAL ALTARS IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I.—CONSECRATION OF ALTAR PLATE—ALTAR CROSSES—STONE ALTARS—CREDENCE—ALTAR CANDLES—CUSHIONS—ALTAR PALLS—ALTARWISE—QUEEN ELIZABETH'S DISLIKE OF AN ILLUSTRATED SERVICE BOOK.

At Canterbury, Gostling³ mentions that before the altar steps were changed in their position, in the middle of the lowest stone there was a rounded projection with a square hole in it: this, like a socket, still existing at St. David's, held the foot of the lectern for the Gospel. At St. Paul's the Gospeller and Epistolar stand and kneel at the south side of the altar, and the former crosses to the south side to read the Gospel.

¹ Macaulay, ii. 493.

² Burnet's Own Times, ii. 111.

³ P. 256.

St. Ethelwold of Winchester, in a season of famine, broke up the sacred plate and gave the proceeds to the poor, saying it was better that metal should succour the want of the sorrowful than serve the pride of the priest.¹ Neal says that the altar vessels of Cathedrals underwent a solemn consecration; on it were placed at Canterbury, on Bishop Andrewes' model, 'two candlesticks with tapers, a basin for alms, cushion for the service book, a silver gilt canister for the wafers, lined with cambric lace, the ton on a cradle (for wine), a chalice covered with the aire (the Greek *ἀἴρη*) embroidered with coloured silk, two patens, the tricanale, a round ball with a screw cover, out of which issued three pipes (a cruet with water for the mixed chalice), and near it was the credentia, a side-table with a bason and ewer on napkins, and a towel to wash before the consecration, and three kneeling stools (for celebrant Gospeller and Epistolar). And on some altars were the incense pot, and a knife to cut the sacramental bread.'² Laud consecrated the altar-piece at Canterbury,³ and Bishop Towers at Peterborough, where, in 1634, a 'corporal of cambricke edged with bone lace, and a cloth for the Litany desk,' were in use.⁴ Crosses were set up, at Winchester, 1636, and Lichfield, 1635, over the altar,⁵ and were removed from St. Paul's in 1644.⁶

In the early part of the seventeenth century stone altars were erected at Durham and Worcester.⁷ The Credence has been in use time out of memory at Man-

¹ W. Malm, 169.

² Hist. of Puritans, ii. 223-4.

³ Ibid. ii. 567.

⁴ MS. Notes in Cath. Libr.

⁵ Canterbury's Doom, 80.

⁶ Walker's Suff. of the Clergy, 13.

⁷ Canterbury's Doom, 13.

chester. Lighted candles on the altar were still in use after the Restoration, as HICKERINGILL in 1682 speaks of them, and cringing to the east to the altar.¹ A large contemporary print of the coronation of William and Mary at Westminster in 1689, shows 28 tapers burning on the altar, and eight upon the retable. An engraving in 1698 shows the altar of St. Paul's with two lighted candles, in accordance with a view in Gunton's 'Peterborough' of the altar of that Cathedral previous to 1643. There is a tradition that the four standard candlesticks of the time of Charles I., now in the choir of Ghent, once belonged to St. Paul's. The altar candlesticks at Bristol were taken from the Spaniards in 1709. At Exeter, as at Salisbury, the altar had two candlesticks of brass, and a cushion with a service book on it: the pall was of red velvet; and upon a second cushion were a bason and ewer and two chalices. At the back were Moses and Aaron and the sacred monogram.² Candlesticks still stand on the altars of Canterbury, Manchester, Oxford, Hereford, Durham, Wells, Westminster, Chichester, and York; but the tapers are only lighted on dark afternoons. The cushions on the altar, which have lately disappeared, were the last relic of the 'codde' or pillow for the missal, and in old prints the alms bason is seen at the back of the altar resting on a cushion; the last instance of it probably was at Gloucester. The Holy Table was set 'altarwise'—an idiom peculiar to us English.³

¹ Black Nonconformist. Works, ii. 87.

² Cosmo the Third's Travels in England, fo. 48.

³ Lestranger's Alliance, 245. Flower-vases are used at Chichester.

—in all Cathedrals.¹ Strype relates the indignation of Queen Elizabeth, when the Dean of St. Paul's set before her a service book with German illustrations.² At Salisbury the altar cloth was violet when Duke Cosmo visited the Cathedral.

In 1634 Winchester possessed a hanging of velvet wrought with gold for the altar, and others of cloth of tissue and cloth of gold filled with pearl wire. A pall of cloth of gold in 1635 was laid on the altar of Durham at the time of celebration by the Bishop, who wore a red cope powdered with stars.³

At York a fine pastoral staff is preserved, which belonged to Smith, who was nominated Archbishop of York by James II. in 1687, and was wrested from his hands by the Earl of Danby, as he was going in solemn procession from the Roman Catholic Chapel, in the manor near St. Mary's Abbey, to the Minster, where his influence had prevailed on the authorities to open the great doors for his reception.

A ROMAN 'ARCHBISHOP' AT YORK—MOCK BISHOP OF
CARLISLE—KEN'S PROTEST AT BATH—MASS SUNG
IN DURHAM CATHEDRAL AND RIPON MINSTER.

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD, at Carlisle, installed James Cappock as Bishop of Carlisle in 1745; he was hanged soon after by the butcher Duke of Cumberland, who put all the Scottish prisoners into ward in the Cathedral, which they 'made a most nasty Church.' A

¹ Carlw. Doc. Ann. ii. 238.

² Annals, i. 408.

³ Brereton's Travels, 83.

ring used for their detention was till lately pointed out in the north choir aisle.

At Bath, when Father Huddleston set out the altar in the presence of James II. according to the Roman ritual, Ken mounted the pulpit in the nave, and inveighed against the act. In the rising of the North, 1569, from St. Andrew's Day to December 4, 'they sang Mass, Matins, Evensong, and other service in the quire, and went in procession twice or thrice after the Crosse,' within the Cathedral of Durham, before a great throng of people.¹ Two altars were set up, and holy bread and water were distributed. On November 19 mass was celebrated in the Collegiate Church of Ripon, when Richard Norton displayed his memorable banner.

THE BUCK AND DOE OFFERED AT ST. PAUL'S—A LAMB
AT YORK—A STAG, HORSES AND CHARIOT AT
DURHAM—BURNING BONDS—ULPHUS' HORN BEFORE
THE ALTAR OF YORK—PENANCE OF A NOBLEMAN—
KING EDWARD'S LITTER—THE STANDARD OF THE
NEVILLES—EXPOSURE OF HENRY VI. AND RICHARD II.
AT ST. PAUL'S.

As at St. Edmundsbury a white bull was offered, and at Westminster the fishermen of the Thames presented a salmon and were feasted afterwards, so on the day of the commemoration of St. Paul's, by a bequest of the knightly family of Le Baud, from the time of Edward I., a fat buck in summer was carried by a servant attended by members of the family

¹ Depositions, &c. Surt. Soc. Publ. 154, &c.

through the midst of a procession to the high altar, where it was received by the Dean and Chapter, who gave twelve pence to the huntsman for an entertainment; and on the Conversion of St. Paul a doe was offered by a servant. Until the time of Elizabeth the reception was made at the choir steps by the Canons, wearing garlands of flowers on their heads, and the horns of the buck were carried in procession on the top of the spear round the nave with a great noise of horn blowers.¹ In 1557, the buck's head was carried on a pole, and 'forty horns blew before all the priests of London in copes.'² At York on Lammas Day the tenants of the chapter lands brought up a lamb to the high altar, whilst the city waits played their liveliest strains. At Durham the Nevilles annually offered a stag for the manor of Raby on the feast of St. Cuthbert in September. In 1290, Ralph de Neville, a young brawler who used to wind his horn as he entered the precincts, claimed an entertainment by the Prior for his retainers; and the Prior in consequence refused to receive the stag when offered before the shrine. Ralph's men began to carry the stag to the kitchen, the monks opposed them, and words ended in blows; the laymen attacked the monks serving at the altar, the monks replied by wielding the tapers which they carried; the stag remained as their prize of victory, and Ralph and his followers departed without their usual dinner in the hall, but disdained to carry away the venison.³ The usual day for offering was Holy Cross, so that

¹ Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, Ed. Ellis, 12.

² Machyn, 141.

³ *III Script. Dunelm.* 74.

when Robert Neville died they sung the stave, the oldest rhyme of the north,—

‘ Wel qna sal thir hornes blau,
Holy Rod thi day?
Now is he dede and lies law
Was wont to blaw thaim ay.’—*Ibid.* iii. 2.

Bishop Hatfield's body was carried into the choir of Durham on a chariot drawn by five horses, which became the mortuary due to the Abbey.¹ The ‘chare’ and five great horses of Bishop Skirlaw were similarly treated.² Four stately horses drew the hearse of Bishop Langley into the nave, and possibly, owing to these cumbrous solemnities, the wall of the Nine Altars was broken through to permit the admission of the body of Bishop Bek.³ At the burial of Prince Arthur, Lord Garrard, as his man-at-arms, in ‘the prince's own harness, on a courser richly trapped with velvet embroidered with needlework, rode into the midst of the choir of Worcester, with a poleaxe in his hands, the point downwards, where the Abbot of Tewksbury, the Gospeller of that mass, received the offering of that horse.’⁴ Edward the Confessor was solemnly offered as an infant at the altar of Ely. In England the offering of loaves and a little tun of wine by a Bishop at his consecration does not appear to have lasted for any long time. On March 17, 1190, the gentlemen of Yorkshire⁵ rushed into the sacristy of the minster, where their bonds to the Jews were kept, and burned them in a mass in

¹ III Script. Dunelm. cli.

² *Ib.* cx. vii.

³ Surtees' *Durham*, I. xxxv. See also Ornsby, 28, and Appendix.

⁴ Leland, *Collect.* v. 380. ⁵ Hemingford, c. xlv. in *Gale* ii. 518.

the midst of the church, a far different scene from that when Ulphus, who, filling his horn (still preserved in the vestry) with wine, offered with it, on his knees before the high altar, to God and St. Peter all his lands and revenues.¹ Bishop Bateman compelled Lord Morley, who had killed his deer and ill-treated his keepers, to walk through the streets of Norwich with a lighted taper to the high altar.² On May 22, 1471, attended by a number of armed men, the body of King Henry VI. was silently exposed in an open coffin, barefaced, for two days before the high altar of St. Paul's, 'where he bled';³ and that of Richard II., after his murder at Pontefract, was exposed for three days, but—

. . . his mass was done, and dirige,
In herse royally seemly to royalty,

in the presence of Henry IV.⁴ The grand obsequies of Henry V. were solemnised here.⁵ Lord Neville offered at St. Cuthbert's shrine, 'in the most solemn and humble manner, after the battle done, his own banner and the ancients of the King of Scots, and other noble men, jewels, and the holy rood crosse which had given name to the fair abbey of Edinburgh,⁶ ensigns and trophies of a great victory, and a great banner to the realm, and decent ornament to the Church.'

Edward I., in solemn procession, visited Carlisle, and offered up the litter in which he had journeyed for so many months, and as he left the Cathedral

¹ Camden, III. ii. ² Godwin, 349. ³ Grafton, ii. 45; Stow's Ann. 424.

⁴ Ibid. 325.

⁵ Ibid. 363.

⁶ Davies, 5.

called for his horse, and rejoiced to feel himself once more like a soldier in his saddle,¹ as he set out for his last march.

For three or four days the naked bodies of the lords Warwick and Montacute, 'that all men might see them,' lay in St. Paul's in Easter week, 1471.

Here Courtenay the Bishop, and the Duke of Lancaster furiously contended when Wicliffe the heretic was arraigned in 1377 ;² and on April 6, 1492, all the nobles of England and the companies of London met to hear *Te Deum* sung for joy 'because the king of Spain had won the great and rich city and countrey of Granada from the Moores.'³

PROCESSION AT RIPON — APPLES DISTRIBUTED ON CHRISTMAS DAY—GIFT TO THE BISHOPS OF WINCHESTER, ROCHESTER, AND CHICHESTER—DOLE AT CHICHESTER—THE CHORISTERS' CUP—MISTLETOE AT YORK—OFFERINGS AT ST. DAVID'S AND WESTMINSTER—DIVISION OF THE SEXES AT DURHAM AND HEREFORD.

At Ripon, so late as in 1790, on the Sunday before Candlemas Day, the Collegiate Church was one continued blaze of light all the afternoon by an immense number of candles. On the day before Holy Thursday, all the clergy, attended by the singing-men and boys of the choir, perambulated the town in their canonicals, singing hymns, and the blue-coat charity boys followed, singing, with green

¹ Tait's *Carlisle*, 28.

² Fuller's *Ch. Hist.* b. iv. cent. xiv.

³ Stow's *Ann.* 474.

boughs in their hands. On Christmas Day the singing boys came into the Church with large baskets full of red apples, with a sprig of rosemary stuck in each, which they presented to all the congregation, and generally had a return made them of 2*d.*, 4*d.*, or 6*d.*, according to the quality of the lady or gentleman.¹ From time immemorial the prior and convent of Winchester sent daily to the Bishop when resident eight loaves of wassail bread and four bottles of good wine, by the hands of the junior monk, who presented them humbly to the Bishop, saying, 'SS. Pere et Paule vous envoient.'² At Rochester the Bishop received a xenium or pension on St. Andrew's Day from the convent. The bishop of Chichester received bread and wine when he came to celebrate pontifically. A dole to the poor is still given away on Saturdays; and even in 1724, at the Bishop's visitation, a gold crown soleil was given, by Sherborne's bequest, to the Bishop, with a letter hoping he would receive it, not as a payment for work, but a kindly sign of remembrance, which he trusted would be mutual; and on his anniversary, each of the eight choristers sipped with a spoon from a cup of the purest latten filled with milk, coloured with saffron, sugared, and thickened with eggs, saying, 'God rest the soul of Lord Robert, my benefactor.'

Stukeley says, 'Lately at York, on the eve of Christmas Day, they carried mistletoe to the high altar of the Cathedral, and proclaimed a public and universal liberty, pardon, and freedom to all sorts of

¹ Gent. Mag. lx. pt. ii. 719.

² MSS. Winton Coll.

inferior and even wicked people at the gates of the city, towards the four quarters of heaven.'¹

Browne Willis says that the offerings of the detached chapels in the neighbourhood of St. David's 'were carried to the Cathedral, and divided on Saturday among the Canons and Priests, and some yet living can remember since the offering-money was brought on Saturdays to the Chapter-house and there divided by dishfuls, the quantity not allowing them leisure to tell it.'² At Westminster, the clergy make their offerings before the altar kneeling. The division of the sexes at Hereford, with the men on the north and women on the south side in choir, and at Holy Communion, according to the rubric of 1549 at Durham, was long observed.

INCENSE AT ELY—WAFER BREAD—BENEDICTION
OF CHORISTERS.

WARBURTON gave up the cope because it discomposed his wig, Dr. Green gave up incense because it spoiled his smell of snuff. 'Cole often heard Mr. Soane Jenyns, who lived at Ely when he was young, say, as also Messrs. Bentham and others say, that it was the constant practice on the greater festivals at Ely to burn incense at the altar in the Cathedral till Dr. Thomas Green, one of the prebendaries, and now Dean of Salisbury, 1779, a finical man who is always taking snuff up his nose, objected to it under pretence that it made his head to ache.'³

Cosin mentions as in existence in 1637 the custom

¹ Med. Hist. of Caraus. ii. 164.

² St. David's, 54-5.

³ Add. MSS. 5873, fo. 82 b.

of 'using wafers at the Sacrament, as at Westminster and many other places.'¹

Whenever the late Bishop of Exeter was celebrant, after the conclusion of the service the choristers were ranged in two lines on either side of the choir aisle in order to receive his benediction.

THE FRAUD OF MONKS—VENERATION TO THE CONFESSOR—THE CORONATION AND SEPULCHRES OF KINGS—THE MINSTREL AT ST. RICHARD'S SHRINE—THE SPOIL OF BECKET'S SHRINE—THE LECTERN AND RELIQUARY OF SHRINES—PILGRIMS AT A SHRINE.

ON the morrow of Palm Sunday, 1314, King Edward, after visiting St. Alban's, went to Ely, where he decided in favour of the former church that it undoubtedly possessed the relics of the English protomartyr, although the monks of the Fen duly pointed out a shrine labelled with his name which was found to contain only the saint's caracalla;² for there is a well-known story how the monks of St. Alban's sent, in a time of peril, the relics of their patron saint to Ely, and the refusal of the latter monks to restore it,³ when their black-cowled brethren proved that they had taken the precaution of sending only supposititious remains.

P. Calixtus made two visits to St. David's, equivalent to a pilgrimage to Rome.

The shrine of St. Edward the Confessor still stands at Westminster, but much of the beautiful mosaic work has been carried away by devotees. 'A part of the stone basement seat on the east side of the

¹ Works, v. 518. ² Walsingham, i. 138. ³ Leland, Itin. viii. 65.

south wing of the transept has been worn into a deep hollow by the feet of the devout, who attend here early of a morning, and from this point can just obtain a view of the cover of the shrine. Previously to the French Revolution, the very dust and sweepings of the shrine and chapel were preserved and exported to Spain and Portugal in barrels.¹

Francis Beaumont and Jeremy Taylor allude to this 'acre sown with richest royalest seed,' a cemetery for princes, where their ashes and their glory shall sleep till time shall be no more; where our kings have been crowned, their ancestors lay interred, and they must walk on their grandsires' head to take his crown.²

Here the bones of brith have cried,
Though gods they were, as men they died.

Dr. Clark says that pilgrims visited St. Richard's shrine after the Restoration.³

The lectern where the monks of Gloucester read the story of King Edward's death to the pilgrims visiting his tomb, and the alms-box and reliquary of St. Richard of Chichester, are relics of the old custom of visiting shrines, doing penance, and enriching the church treasury. When Edward I. visited Chichester, Lovel the minstrel was singing to his harp the praises of St. Richard. Sanders says that 25 ox-wains were employed to transport the spoil of the shrine of Canterbury.

Kings, like Canute, walked barefoot for miles to visit the shrine of St. Cuthbert.⁴ With him, too, is connected the famous verse:—

¹ Neal's Westm. Abbey, i. 69.

² Segrave's Chichester, 13.

³ Works, iii. 272.

⁴ Camden's Brit. ii. 103.

Merrily sungen the muneches binnan Ely
 That Cnut ching rew there by.
 Rowe ye cnites noer the lant,
 And here we thes muneches sing.

At the shrine of St. Cuthbert, persons proceeding in defence of the Holy Land were branded on the breast,¹ and pilgrims brought back specimens of foreign marbles to Prior Roger, who wished to pave the church with the costliest kind.²

OFFERING OF CROWNS BY KINGS—ROYAL MARRIAGES
 AND CORONATIONS—THE MAUNDY—TOUCHING FOR
 THE EVIL—ROYAL VISITS OF STATE.

IN 1140, as King Henry heard mass, and presented, according to the custom of a king, a serge to the Bishop, it broke and the light went out; and the Eucharist, with the Body of Christ, the cord breaking, fell upon the altar.³ In 1141, he sat crowned at Hereford. King Stephen braved an ancient prophecy at Lincoln, and wore his crown in the minster.⁴ Henry II. and Eleanor were crowned at Easter, 1159, at Worcester, and at the offertory laid aside their crowns, vowing that they would never wear them more.⁵ In 1158, at Christmas, Henry wore his crown at Worcester, but in memory of King Canute's offering of his crown upon the altar to be set upon the head of the crucifix of Winchester, he also laid his crown upon the altar and never wore it again.⁶ Henry III.

¹ Ill. Script. III. cccxc.

² Regin. Dunelm. lxxv.

³ Wendover, ii. 228.

⁴ Hoveden, i. 209.

⁵ Ibid. i. 216.

⁶ Wendover, ii. 287; Matt. Par. i. 309: comp. Somner, 155, where he claims the golden crown for Canterbury.

was crowned at Gloucester, Oct. 28, 1216,¹ with a plain gold ring, as no crown was forthcoming; Henry IV., at Winchester, 1404; Richard III. with Queen Anne at York, Sept. 8, 1483;² and Philip and Mary, were married in the former Cathedral, where, as at York, the faldstool or chair used on the occasion is preserved.

The craven John resigned his crown in St. Paul's in fee to Rome, and the papal instrument was publicly read before the Bishops and nobles of England in 1213.³ In 1424, Henry VI. was led up by the Lord Protector and the Duke of Exeter to the choir steps, 'from whence he was borne unto the high altar, and there kneeled in a travers . . . and he gode to the rode [cross] of the north door, and there made his offerynges.'⁴ On June 28, 1461, King Edward IV. went crowned to St. Paul's, and an 'angel came down and censed him.'⁵

In 1507, the marriage of Prince Arthur and Katharine of Arragon was solemnized here by the Archbishop, 'assisted' by 19 prelates.⁶ On June 8, 1522, Charles V. heard mass sung by Cardinal Wolsey;⁷ and on October 18, 1554, King Philip attended one sung wholly by Spaniards.⁸

On April 16, 1603, King James I. was received at the west door of York Minster by the Dean, prebendaries, and the whole quire of singing men, in their richest copes.⁹ In his own quaint way he offered to

¹ Matt. Par. ii. 195.

² Tho. Wikes. s.a.

³ Stow's Ann. 416.

⁴ Ibid. 516.

⁵ Kennet, 527.

⁶ Fabyan, 594.

⁷ Ibid. 483.

⁸ Strype. Ecc. Mem. III. 201.

⁹ Drake's York, 131.

'wrestle' the nave of Durham against all others in England. In 1639, King Charles I. kept Maundy in the Minster; and in the south aisle the Bishop of Ely washed the feet of thirty-nine poor aged men in warm water, and dried them with a linen cloth: afterwards the Bishop of Winchester washed them over again in white wine, wiped, and kissed them.¹ On Good Friday, the King touched 200 persons for the King's Evil. King James II. touched 500 persons in Worcester Cathedral, August 24, 1687. The Maundy had always been ministered in the choir of York, as at Lichfield also. At St. Paul's, Henry IV. and Henry VI., on their accession; Henry VII., after his victory over Lambert Simnel; Henry VIII., to receive a cap and sword sent by the Pope, May 21, 1514; Elizabeth, November 24, 1588, after the defeat of the Armada; William III.; Queen Anne, on five occasions of victory; George III. in 1797; and the Prince Regent offered public homage of thanksgiving for national blessings. George III. also came in 1789 to testify his gratitude on recovery from his grievous malady.

The custom of receiving Kings at Canterbury was for the Primate, Dean, and Chapter to wait at the west end, and so to attend on him, and there to hear an oration. 'After that, Queen Elizabeth went under a canopy to the midst of the church, where certain prayers kneeling were said, the Psalm, *Deus misereatur*, and other collects, and after that the choir, Dean, and prebendaries standing on either side of the church, and then conducting him with a square song

¹ Drake's York, 137.

through the quire under a canopy borne by knights up to the traverse near to the Communion-table.'¹ On similar occasions, as at the thanksgiving of George III. and coronation of Victoria, the clergy and choir of St. Paul's wear white gloves and crimson shoulder sashes, and the Lord Chamberlain virtually takes possession of the Cathedral.

THE VISION OF THE SAINTS' MASS—ST. SWITHIN'S DAY
—THE AMEN OF THE DEAD—HELISEND BRAVES ST.
CUTHBERT—HOW QUEEN PHILIPPA SPENT THE NIGHT
AT DURHAM—THE DEMON CANON AT HEREFORD—
BISHOP BLOET'S GHOST—GOLDEN ROOD OF ELY—
BELL OF PETERBOROUGH—THE SENTINEL OF WIND-
SOR—BELL OF ST. PAUL'S—HACKET'S KNELL—BELL
JESUS—GAMBLING AWAY OF JESUS BELFRY—BONNIE
CHRIST CHURCH BELLS.

LEGENDS usually connected with the acts of saints, or the world of spirits, hang about some Cathedrals. One of the earliest is narrated by Reginald of Durham. 'A monk of Durham, keeping vigil in the minster, sat down in the stalls and thought; he raised his eyes, he beheld in the misty distance three forms descend, and with slow steps come from the east towards the choir steps; each had a Bishop's habit, each was comely, venerable, and glorious to behold; and, as they paused, they sang Alleluia with the verse, with the sweetest strain of melody; then, towards the south, where the great crucifix stands, was heard a choir of many voices singing in their

¹ Parker, Corr. 442, 475.

several parts the prose, and it seemed as though clerks in their ministries were serving a bishop-celebrant, for there the clear shining of the tapers was brightest, and thence the rich delicious perfume of the fragrant incense breathed around. Then the three Bishops sang their part, and the choir made answer with chanting wondrous sweet, whilst one celebrated as befits a Bishop, then all was done; once more the solemn procession passed on its way, and disappeared like faint images behind the altar; and they say that they who were at that service lie asleep, revered in that ancient Church, Aidan, Cuthbert, Eadbert, and Ædelwold.¹ The popular superstition with regard to St. Swithin's Day is founded on a legend that after his canonisation the monks of Winchester wished to translate his body from the common churchyard into the choir; but the solemn procession was delayed on July 15, and for forty days after, by violent rains, which were supposed to have been produced by the humble-minded saint.² St. Birstan, another Bishop of the see, out of his charity, used to sing a psalter at midnight in the same cemetery, for the repose of departed souls; and once, when he had finished his orisons with the *Requiescant in pace*, from the graves came the voices of the dead, as of a great army numberless, making answer Amen.³

The entrance of women had been forbidden by the monks within the Church of Durham, out of deference to St. Cuthbert's rule; and a cross of blue

¹ Regin. Dunelm. c. xxxviii.

² Foster, Peren. Calend. 344.

³ W. Malm. 163.

marble on the pavement of the nave still marks the line of demarcation. The Galilee, a kind of porch at first and afterwards a Lady Chapel, is said to have been built at the west end of the Cathedral, because St. Cuthbert caused great rifts to break the walls of a chapel which was begun to be erected in the usual position eastward.¹ Helisend, a pert woman of the chamber to Mahald, the queen of King David of Scotland, unlike her mistress, determined to brave the saint; and, putting on a long black cope, entered the church, where she at length sat down, paralysed with terror. St. Cuthbert woke Bernard the sacristan, who searched the church with all speed, and having detected the intruder, poured out upon her a flood of most villanous abuse (we must hope in Latin), dragged her outside, and left her half-dead, and swooning. She at length recovered, and went as a penitent to Elvestowe, and was long in terror lest she should lose her wits, owing to the anger of the saint.² In 1333, in Easter week, Queen Philippa, says Robert de Graystones, arrived from Knaresborough, and, in ignorance of the custom at Durham, entered by the Abbey gate, and supped with the King in the Prior's chamber. When she had retired to bed, a monk informed the King that St. Cuthbert loved not women to be there. At once, at the King's bidding, the Queen rose, and, clad only in her tunic, went to the castle, beseeching the saint not to take vengeance for her unconscious deed.³

The clever embroidress outwitted the monks of

¹ Sanderson's Antiq. 45.

² Regin. Dunelm. 151.

³ Ang. Sac. i. 760.

Durham in male attire, but a more dangerous visitant scared the Canons of Hereford with the cope and almuce of one of their order, although he received a sorer retribution than bare words, when c. 1290 'a marvel almost inconceivable took place in Hereford Cathedral. A demon in the choral habit of a canon sat in a stall after mattins had been sung, and a canon came up to him to inquire the reason of his sitting there, thinking that he was one of his brother canons: the demon was dumb, and said not a word. The canon was beyond measure terrified, thinking it was the foul fiend himself; but he conjured it by the holy name and St. Thomas of Cantilupe not to stir from that place; he at once brought assistance, and with the others beat it in German fashion and bound it; and there bound and fettered it lay before the shrine of St. Thomas.' Possibly this weird apparition was that of Titivillus, who, a learned Italian canonist assures us, lurks in choirs with a little wallet, into which he collects all elided syllables and false notes made by the singers.

At Lincoln, according to Bale, 'the church keepers were sore annoyed with Bloet's soul and other walking spirits till the place was purged with prayers.'

The legend of the Golden Rood of King Edgar, which was stolen and recovered by a wonderful interposition, occurs in the History of Ely.²

At Peterborough there is a superstition that if the Cathedral bell and the clock of the parish church strike together there will be death in the minster-

¹ Barthol. de Cotton, 457-8.

² A.S. ii. 645.

yard. In the Cathedral there is a picture of Scarlet, the sexton, 'who buried the householders twice over.'

The story of the sentinel of Windsor and the so-called bell of St. Paul's, but really 'Tom of Westminster,' afterwards given to that Cathedral, is told in my 'Memorials of Westminster,' p. 198. The great bell of St. Paul's is tolled now at the death of the Sovereign, the Bishop, the Dean, or Lord Mayor.

When the bells began to chime at Lichfield for the first time, Bishop Hacket, then very old, went out of his chamber to hear them. 'It is my knell,' he said, and in a few hours passed to his rest. The stillatory at Canterbury is called Bell Jesus, from a legend that it was erected 'in memory of a bell of that size cast abroad and lost at sea.'¹ Henry VIII. gambled away the famous Jesus belfry of St. Paul's at a throw of the dice to Sir M. Partridge. The Bonnie Christ Church bells of Oxford have been rendered the best known peal in England by Dean Aldrich's glee.

THE HEAD OF BRONZE—AUTOMATIC BELLS — THE
BISHOP'S AND DEAN'S EYE—THE FIVE SISTERS—
THE DEVIL LOOKING OVER LINCOLN—THE FALL OF
WINCHESTER TOWER—ST. WILFRID'S NEEDLE—
GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS ON ST. DAVID'S AND ITS
MARVELS.

At Lincoln, in the vaults, according to Richard de Bardney, are the fragments of Grostete's familiar, the

¹ Gostling, 165.

talking head of bronze ;¹ and the old belief was that at his death heavenly music was heard upon the air, and the bells of distant churches tolled of their own accord, as they did on the day of Becket's death at Canterbury, and before the coronation of Cœur de Leon, or when little St. Hugh was buried.

' A the bells o' merrie Lincoln,
Without men's hands were rung,
And a the books o' merrie Lincoln,
Were read without men's tongue.'

At Lincoln the great rose windows of the transept were severally named the 'Dean's' and 'Bishop's Eye,' as if symbolical of their respective jurisdiction. Pope speaks of 'wights' who fondly call their own—

Half that the Devil o'erlooks from Lincoln town,²

in allusion to a hideous gargoyle, still pointed out,³ on the south side of that

. . . . Great monument
Of love divine, thou Lincoln on thy sovereign hill.

The Five Sisters of York are connected with a legend of five young orphans who agreed to fill the lancets with memorial glass in remembrance of a dead sister. The tower of Winchester is said to have fallen down because the wicked Red King was buried under it.⁴

The Whispering Gallery of Gloucester is sonorous owing to the thinness of the walls, and its position as an upper passage connecting the triforia ; it has these lines written upon it:—

¹ Ang. Sac. ii. 326.

² Imit. of Hor. B. ii. S. ii. 246.

³ Pointer's Oxon. Acad. 53.

⁴ Rudborne, 271.

Doubt not but God who sits on high,
Thy secret prayers can hear,
When a dead wall thus cunningly
Conveys soft whispers to the ear.

At Ripon a rude orifice in the relic chamber of the crypt is pointed out as a test, according to Camden, as crucial as the water of the jealousy among the Jews; probably it served as a place for poor palsied folk to creep through in the expectation of being healed. It is called *St. Wilfrid's Needle*; but, like similar perforations in tombs at *St. Didier* and *St. Menoux*, was an imitation of the Basilican *transenna*. *Giraldus Cambrensis* tells pleasant stories of *St. David's* in its 'vale of roses,' dark with the shadows of lofty hills, the tame jackdaws which loved the sight of a dark frock, the river *Alan* flowing wine, the spring of *St. David* bubbling over with fresh milk, and the famous *Lochlavar*, a talking stone, which burst asunder while a bier was carried over it, and the object of the angry¹ *Welshwoman's* adjuration when *Henry II.* was about to cross it in despite of *Merlin's* prophecy.

VERGERS' TALES—HANGING MARRIAGES—THE BOLD
LEAP AT DURHAM—THE FAST OF FORTY DAYS—
THE CHAINED HARTS—DEATH BY PRICK OF A NEEDLE
—THE LION TOMB AT RIPON—NOBLE EPITAPHS—
MISERRIMUS.

In the cloisters of *Norwich* a boss representing the Temptation was called the *Espousals*, owing to a

¹ *Op. vi.* 107-9.

misreading of William of Worcester's description as 'where the marriages hung:' the Latin word being, in fact, rational enough, 'towels,' which were hung above the lavatories. At Durham a figure which holds a glove is represented to be the effigy of a bold man who leaped from the great tower to the ground to win a purse of gold, forming—as a verger once said of some disputed statue, that it was—a 'crux aquarium.' Still vergers point out the cadaver, the sad symbol of mortality, as the figure of one who essayed to imitate our Lord's fast of forty days and perished in the attempt; and at Westminster a new vulgar error was long promulgated with regard to Elizabeth Russell, who appears pointing with her finger to a skull, which Goldsmith and Addison say was said to refer to her death by pricking her finger with a needle, with the further addition as a judgment for working on Sunday. 'I wonder,' said Sir Roger de Coverley, 'that Sir Richard Baker has said nothing of her in his "Chronicle."' Still the story may be told whilst these two noble epitaphs are forgotten, one of Margaret Lucas, 'of a noble family, for all the brothers were valiant and all the sisters virtuous,' and the other of Purcell, 'who left this life, and is gone to that blessed place where only his harmonies can be excelled.' The saddest epitaph ever written is that on the gravestone of Morris, the nonjuror, in the cloister of Worcester—a single word, 'Miserrimus.'

The chained harts, the badge of Richard II., sculptured on the capitals of the great pillars at Gloucester, gave origin to a legend that King

Edward II.'s funeral car was drawn by a team of those animals from Berkeley Castle. At Ripon a high tomb of grey marble represents in low relief a man kneeling, a lion, and a forest: and tradition a century since described it as covering the grave of an Irish prince, who died at Ripon on his return from Holy Land, whence he had brought the king of beasts, rendered tame as a dog, and following at the heels of this second Androcles. Possibly it may, like an annual sermon preached at St. Catharine Cree Church, rather commemorate a deliverance from a lion. Over the Richmond vault at Chichester the words *Domus Ultima* were inscribed, and Dr. Clarke wrote the following epigram:—¹

Did he who thus inscribed the wall,
Not read, or not believe St. Paul,
Who says there is (where'er it stands)
Another house—not built with hands?
Or may we gather from these words,
That house is not a House of Lords?

KIRK WALL—THE STATE OF DUNBLANE—LAUD'S RETORT
—CROMWELL AT FORTROSE—DUNKELD AND THE
TROUBLES OF ITS BISHOPS—ELGIN, THE LAST HIGH
MASS—THE LEAD OF ABERDEEN—JAMES I. AT EDIN-
BURGH—JENNY GEDDES—THE CROWN OF ST. GILES—
THE LAMP OF ST. ELOI—DR. JOHNSON'S OBSERVATION
—GLASGOW AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.

THESE pages would be incomplete without a few anecdotes connected with the Scotch and Irish Cathedrals.

The church of St. Magnus, at Kirkwall, has gained

¹ Segrave's Chichester, 25.

fresh renown from having been introduced into the 'Pirate' of Walter Scott.

In 1233 the Cathedral of Dunblane lay roofless, and a rustic chaplain said mass thrice a week within it.¹ When Laud rode past Dunblane in 1633, he observed that this was 'a goodly church.' 'Yes, my lord,' said a bystander, 'before the Reformation it was a brave kirk.' 'What, fellow!' cried the primate, looking at the havoc, 'Deformation, not Reformation.'

Cromwell destroyed Fortrose to build a fort at Inverness. At Dunkeld, Bishop Lauder, c. 1740, while celebrating High Mass on Whitsunday, was compelled to find shelter among the rafters of the choir roof from the arrows and swords of the clan Donnoquhy, led by an Athol chieftain. The Chapter was constantly exposed to the raids of the Highland lairds, who carried off their cattle and despoiled the treasury.

Gawain Douglas came to take possession of the throne, and was received with a shower of shot from the Cathedral tower, and only obtained access to his church by the help of the retainers of that mighty clan summoned from Fife and Angus. At Elgin, within the choir and towers, still brilliant with mural colour, the adherents of the elder form of religion continued to worship in the middle of the sixteenth century; in 1594 the last High Mass was sung within these walls as a thank-offering of the victory of the 'popish earls' of the north over the forces of the Protestant west. Upon its towers and magnificence,

¹ See Quarterly Review, clxix. art. iv.

Florence Wilson, when meditating his 'De Animi Tranquillitate,' loved to gaze from the banks of the Lossie. The Wolf of Badenoch, whom the Bishop had excommunicated, burned, in 1390, 'Lantern of the North.' The Privy Council, in February, 1568, ordered the Cathedrals of Elgin and Aberdeen to be unroofed, and the lead sold in Holland to pay the Regent Murray's troops. The sacrilegious plunder, happily, sunk off Aberdeen.

King James I., in 1596, was greeted as wicked Haman by the Presbyterian teachers at Edinburgh. When Laud and Andrewes attended him, he here, amid the sobs of the congregation, bade his Scottish subjects farewell, promising that he would visit them at least once in every three years. On July 23, 1637, the English Service was first read here by Dean Hannay, on Stoning Sunday or Casting of Stools-day, when Jenny Geddes, a low disreputable kail-wife, immortalized by the Covenanters, hurled her stool at the clergyman's head; and Bishop Lindsay, courageously ascending the pulpit, vainly attempted to preach in the face of the most brutal violence. The beautiful crown of St. Giles was illuminated on festival eves with coloured lamps—tracery and arch, and every graceful outline standing out dyed with prismatic hues. The silver lamp of St. Eloi, rescued from the sack of Jerusalem, and its four supporting brazen columns, which stood within the canopy, were melted down into cannon. 'Let me see,' said Dr. Johnson to the door-keeper, 'what was once the inside of a church!'

The Glasgow folks compared the building of 'the

Pride of Lanarkshire' to Penelope's web, saying that, like St. Mungo's work, it would never be finished. In this church Wishart, the warlike Bishop, absolved Robert Bruce after the murder of Comyn. 'Beneath the shadow of the rood loft, unrestrained even in the presence of the Patriarch of Venice, the primates of Scotland struggled for precedence, amid the cries of their attendants, the rending of cope and surplice, and the crash of shivered croziers.' King James of Flodden had a stall in the choir and a seat in the chapter. When Edward I. gave oaks from Ettrick to build the spire, the ungrateful prelate who begged them converted the timber into mangonals and catapults against Kirkintilloch Castle. In the sacristy the robes of Bruce were fashioned for his coronation, and the banner of Scotland taken down, while men cried aloud it was more righteous to die for King Robert, than to fall as Crusaders in the Holy Land. In the Chapter-house and crypt assembled the early convocations of the University. The south wing of the transept is called the Dripping Aisle, from a continuous dripping of water off the roof caused by the porous nature of the stone and capillary attraction. In 1650 Cromwell was compelled to sit silent during a sermon of Zachary Boyd, so insulting, that, but for his significant frown, the rash preacher would have been a head shorter under the swords of the archrebel's captains. Twice has the church been preserved from destruction; in August, 1560, when the judicious Lord Provost dissuaded a mob from razing it to the ground by the happily-timed suggestion that it would be premature

before a new kirk had been provided; and again, in 1579, when Andrew Melville, Principal of the University, having prevailed on the magistrates for its demolition, disgusted at his intolerant bigotry, the incorporated trades assembled by beat of drum, and the craftsmen and their deacons repulsed the sacrilegious fanatics with such vigour as to terrify the magistrates, and induce them to forbear. In 1560 Cardinal Beaton carried away to France all the splendid altar-plate, the rich contents of the treasury, the vestments and the records, and so preserved them from certain sacrilege.¹

WHY LORD KILDARE BURNED CASHEL—THE DEFENCE
OF THE ROCK—WALTER SCOTT—WILLIAM III. AT ST.
PATRICK'S—THE FLAGS OF DERRY—THE FRAY—
A MAYOR'S PENANCE—CHORAL SERVICE IN IRELAND
—A CAPTURED ORGAN—THE GUN OF LIMERICK—
THE BELLS OF CORK AND ST. MARY'S, LIMERICK.

At Cashel, in the wars of the Butlers and Fitzgeralds, the Earl of Kildare burned the Cathedral, 1495, and excused himself to the King, on the plea that he should never have committed such a sacrilege, but he was told that of a certainty Archbishop Creagh was inside: the King answered the Bishop of Meath, who complained of his turbulence—'If all Ireland cannot govern this man, who so fit as he to govern her?'—and he constituted him viceroy, August 6, 1496. In 1647, Lord Inchiquin and the

¹ Mac Ure's Glasgow, 30.

Parliamentarians summoned the citizens to pay him 3,000*l.* to retire; but they bravely took to the rock, and numbers, with twenty monks, were slain at the storming. The great 'Magician of the North' was on his way to London, when, astonished by the unexpected magnificence of the ruins, he forgot his intended journey, and was found at midnight wandering through the lonely aisles.

At St. Patrick's, Dublin, William III. returned thanks for his victory, wearing the crown which James II. had abandoned in his flight. At Derry, the flags captured by Dr. Walker, and carried in procession by the ladies of the city after the great siege was raised, are hung in the Cathedral. At St. Patrick's the banners of the Knights of St. Patrick are suspended in the choir. In the reign of Henry VIII., the lord deputy and the Earl of Ormond with their followers came to blows, and the marks of the arrows shot in the fray remained on the walls. Until the Reformation, the mayor, as an act of penance, walked barefoot to the Cathedral on Corpus Christi Day. The aisles once were desecrated into stables for Cromwell's, and, later, for James II.'s troopers. St. Canice's, Kilkenny, also suffered during its occupation by the Roundheads. Some vestments once worn at Waterford are now at Oscott. Armagh and St. Patrick have two choral services; and Limerick one, in the afternoon, daily. The organ of St. Patrick's was captured by the Duke of Ormond at the siege of Vigo, in 1702. In the memorable siege, the tower of Limerick had a large gun placed on it, and plied so successfully, that although the gunner

was killed, Ginkle did not care to fire any more upon the church. It was used as a barrack. Cromwell confiscated the bells of Cork, adding, with a gloomy humour, that 'as a Priest invented gunpowder, bells should go for cannon.' At Limerick, the Cathedral bells were cast by an Italian for a monastery near his home which was destroyed. Years after, a childless man (for his three sons fell together on the fatal field of Pavia), he came an exile to Ireland; on his reaching the Shannon, he left the ship which had brought him, and entered a boat. Evening was closing in, when from the distant tower of St. Mary rang out a soft chime: the oarsmen paused in their talk as they saw tears on the aged stranger's cheek, while with arms folded over his beating heart, he leaned forward to catch the faint music; as he continued motionless, when they reached the landing-place they stepped forward to lead him out: it was the well-remembered sound of his own dear bells with their thousand agonising memories that had arrested his ear—he was dead.

It is a painful blot on the annals of our Cathedrals, that they do not contain the names of Keble, Neale, or Isaac Williams; and those patrons who desire to maintain the system, must now take good heed that there may be no eligible man who will have to say, with Norris of Bemerton, in his garden, when he was congratulated on his 'prospect of Salisbury Cathedral,' 'Alas! it is my only one!'

In the celebration of Divine service, Cathedrals, as Mother-churches, ought to be models; they 'are the standard and rule to all parochial churches of

solemnity and decent manner,¹ by which all the other churches depending thereon ought to be guided,'² for they are 'the chief and principal ornaments of this realm, and, next to the Universities, chief maintainers of godliness, religion, and learning.'³

Changes in Cathedrals are said to be threatened once more: possibly it may be so; but no mutation can destroy their associations; trial may impend on those who love these holy foundations, but the reflection may serve as an augury of good hope that they exist after witnessing many social, historical, and ecclesiastical revolutions; and with God's help they will survive the machinations of all who would diminish their vitality or impair their condition, on any pretext, however specious.

All that remains of old St. Paul's is in the engravings of Hollar and the verse of Milton, educated under its shadow, recalling its stately and venerable glories when he wrote of the 'studious cloysters pale'—

The high embowed roof,
With antick pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light.

And recollected 'the pealing organ,' and 'the full voiced quire below'—

In service high and anthems clear.⁴

¹ 1670. Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 331; comp. vii. Canon. 1640.

² 1633. Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 239.

³ Whitgift, iii. 394.

⁴ Penseroso, 154-163.

So true is it what old Fuller says: 'When their substance is gone their very shadows will be acceptable to posterity,'¹ for—

Nor zeal for God, nor love to man,
Gives mortal monuments a date
Beyond the power of time.

¹ Ch. Hist. i. 499.

[SEPTEMBER 1871.]

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INDEX.

ACTION'S Modern Cookery	28	CARNOTA'S Memoirs of Pombal	4
ALCOCK'S Residence in Japan	23	CATHE'S Biographical Dictionary	5
ALLEN'S Four Discourses of Chrysostom ..	21	CATS' and FARLIN'S Moral Emblems	16
ALLIES on Formation of Christendom	23	Changed Aspects of Unchanged Truths	9
Alpine Guide (The)	14	CHESNEY'S Indian Polity	2
ALTHEAUS on Medical Electricity	14	———— Waterloo Campaign	2
ARNOLD'S Manual of English Literature ..	7	———— and BENVEN'S Military Essays ..	2
ARNOTT'S Elements of Physics	11	Chorale Book for England	16
Arundine Caml	26	CLOUGH'S Lives from Pinstarch	2
Autumn Holidays of a Country Parson	8	COLERIDGE (Bishop) on Pentateuch	21
ATRE'S Treasury of Bible Knowledge	20	Commonplace Philosopher	8
BACON'S Essays, by WHATELY	6	CONINGTON'S Translation of the <i>Æneid</i> ..	26
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BAYLTON'S Rents and Tillages	19	COX'S Aryan Mythology	3
Beaten Tracks	23	———— Manual of Mythology	26
BEGGER'S Charicles and Gallus	25	———— Tale of the Great Persian War	2
BENFAY'S Sanskrit Dictionary	8	———— Tales of Ancient Greece	26
BERNARD on British Neutrality	1	CREST'S Encyclopædia of Civil Engineering ..	18
BLACK'S Treatise on Brewing	8	Critical Essays of a Country Parson	8
BLACKLEY'S German-English Dictionary ..	8	CROOKES on Beet-Root Sugar	15
BLAINE'S Rural Sports	26	————'s Chemical Analysis	14
———— Veterinary Art	27	CULLLEY'S Handbook of Telegraphy	18
BOOTH'S Saint-Simon	3	CUSACK'S History of Ireland	3
BOULTON on 39 Articles	18	D'AUBIGNÉ'S History of the Reformation ..	2
BOURNES on Screw Propeller	18	———— in the time of CALVIN	2
BOURNES'S Catechism of the Steam Engine ..	18	DAVIDSON'S Introduction to New Testament ..	20
———— Handbook of Steam Engine	18	Dead Shot (The), by MARKSMAN	27
———— Improvements in the Steam	18	DE LA RIVE'S Treatise on Electricity	12
———— Engine	18	DENISON'S Vice-Regal Life	1
———— Treatise on the Steam Engine	18	DE TOCQUEVILLE'S Democracy in America ..	2
———— Examples of Modern Engines ..	18	DISRAELI'S Lothair	24
BOWDLER'S Family SHAKESPEARE	26	———— Novels and Tales	24
BOYD'S Reminiscences	4	DORRILL'S Medical Reports	15
BRAMLEY-MOORE'S Six Sisters of the	24	DOBSON on the Ox	27
Valleys	24	DOVE on Storms	11
BRANDE'S Dictionary of Science, Litera- ..	13	DOYLE'S Fairyland	16
ture, and Art	13	DYER'S City of Rome	2
BRAY'S (C.) Education of the Feelings	10	EASTLAKE'S Hints on Household Taste	17
———— Philosophy of Necessity	10	———— History of Oil Painting	16
———— on Force	10	———— Gothic Revival	17
BROWNE'S Exposition of the 39 Articles ..	19	———— Life of Gibbon	16
BRUNEL'S Life of BRUNEL	4	Elements of Botany	13
BUCKLE'S History of Civilization	3	ELLIOTT on the Revision of the English ..	19
BULL'S Hints to Mothers	26	———— New Testament	19
———— Maternal Management of Children ..	26	———— Commentary on Ephesians	20
BUNSEN'S God in History	3	———— Commentary on Galatians	20
———— Prayers	19	———— Pastoral Epist.	20
BURKE'S Vicissitudes of Families	5	———— Philipians, &c.	20
BURTON'S Christian Church	4	———— Thessalonians	20
Cabinet Lawyer	28	———— Lectures on the Life of Christ ..	20
CAMPBELL'S Norway	22		

MAGUIRE'S Life of Father Mathew	5	NORTHOOT'S Lathes and Turning	17
—— Pope Pius IX.....	5	ODLING'S Animal Chemistry	14
MALLET'S Overthrow of the Germanic Con- federation by Prussia.....	2	—— Course of Practical Chemistry..	14
MANNING'S England and Christendom	21	—— Manual of Chemistry	14
MARCBT on the Larynx	15	—— Lectures on Carbon	14
MARSHALL'S Canadian Dominion.....	11	—— Outlines of Chemistry.....	14
—— Physiology	15	O'DRISCOLL'S Memoirs of MACLISE	4
MARSHMAN'S Life of Havelock	5	O'FLANAGAN'S Irish Chancellors	5
—— History of India	3	Our Children's Story.....	35
MARTINHAU'S Christian Life	23	OWEN'S Lectures on the Invertebrata.....	13
MASSENGER'S History of the Reformation ..	4	—— Comparative Anatomy and Physio- logy of Vertebrate Animals	13
MAUNDER'S Biographical Treasury.....	5	PAOKE'S Guide to the Pyrenees	23
—— Geographical Treasury	11	PAGET'S Lectures on Surgical Pathology ..	15
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—— Scientific and Literary Treas- ury.....	13	PERKIN'S Italian and Tuscan Sculptors..	17
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—— Romans under the Empire	3	PRATT'S Law of Building Societies	23
MERRIFIELD and EVEN'S Navigation	11	PRENDERGAST'S Mastery of Languages....	8
MILES on Horse's Foot and Horseshoeing..	27	PRESCOTT'S Scripture Difficulties	21
—— Horse's Teeth and Stables	27	Present-Day Thoughts.....	9
MILL (J.) on the Mind	9	PROCTOR on Plurality of Worlds	10
MILL (J. S.) on Liberty	6	—— Saturn and its System.....	10
—— on Representative Government ..	6	—— The Sun	10
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MILL'S (J. S.) Dissertations and Discussions	6	Public Schools Atlas (The)	11
—— Political Economy	6	RAN'S Westward by Rail.....	23
—— System of Logic.....	6	Recreations of a Country Parson.....	8
—— Hamilton's Philosophy.....	6	REICHEL'S See of Rome	20
—— Inaugural Address	7	REILLY'S Map of Mont Blanc	23
—— Subjection of Women.....	6	REIMANN on Aniline Dyes	15
MILLER'S Elements of Chemistry	14	RIVERS' Rose Amateur's Guide	13
—— Hymn-Writers	21	ROBBINS'S Cavalry Catechism	27
MITCHELL'S Manual of Architecture	17	ROGERS'S Correspondence of Greyson	9
—— Manual of Assaying	18	—— Eclipse of Faith.....	9
MONSIELL'S Beatitudes.....	23	—— Defence of ditto.....	9
—— His Presence not his Memory ..	23	ROGET'S English Words and Phrases....	7
—— 'Spiritual Songs'.....	23	RONALD'S Fly-Fisher's Entomology	27
MOORE'S Irish Melodies	25	ROSE'S Ignatius Loyola	2
—— Lalla Book	25	ROTHSCHILD'S Israelites.....	20
—— Poetical Works	25	ROWTON'S Debater	7
MORRELL'S Elements of Psychology	9	RUSSELL'S Pau and the Pyrenees.....	23
—— Mental Philosophy.....	9	SANDARS'S Justinian's Institutes	5
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—— Lectures on Language	7	SCHALLER'S Spectrum Analysis	11
—— (K. O.) Literature of Ancient Greece	2	SCOTT'S Lectures on the Fine Arts	16
MURCHISON on Liver Complaints.....	15	—— Albert Durer	16
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—— Lying-In Insti- tutions	28	—— Examination for Confirmation ..	21
NILSSON'S Scandinavia	13		